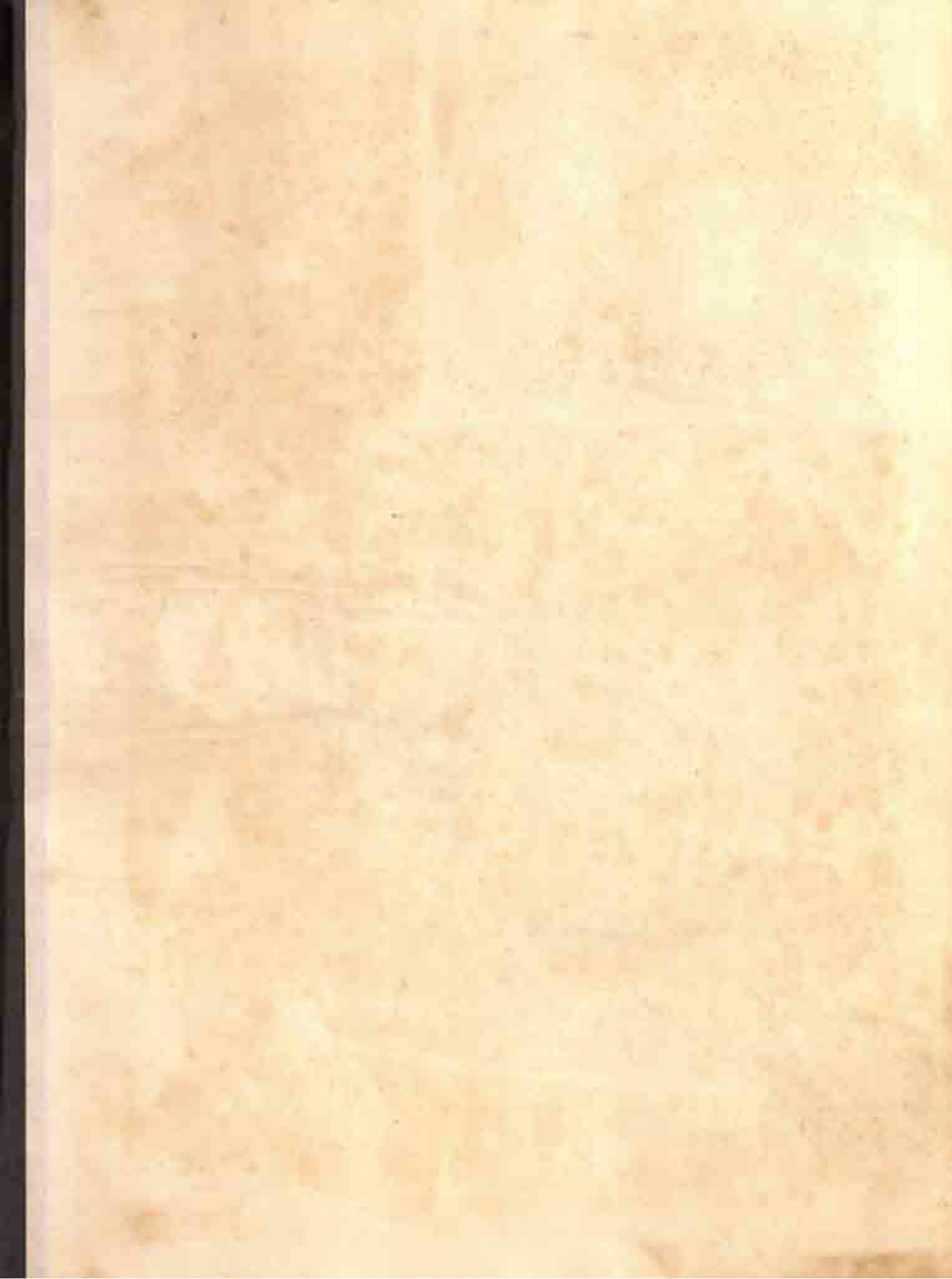


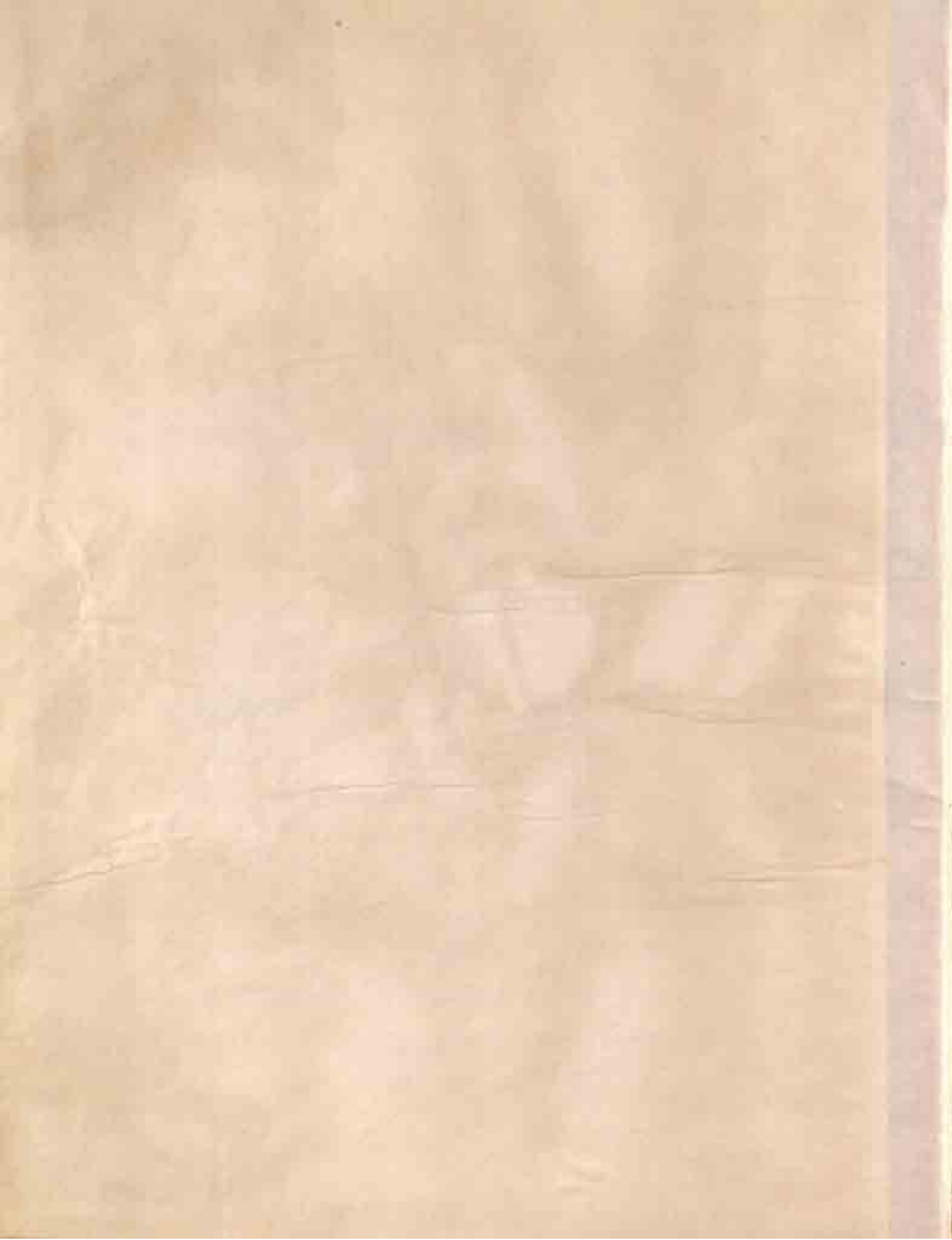
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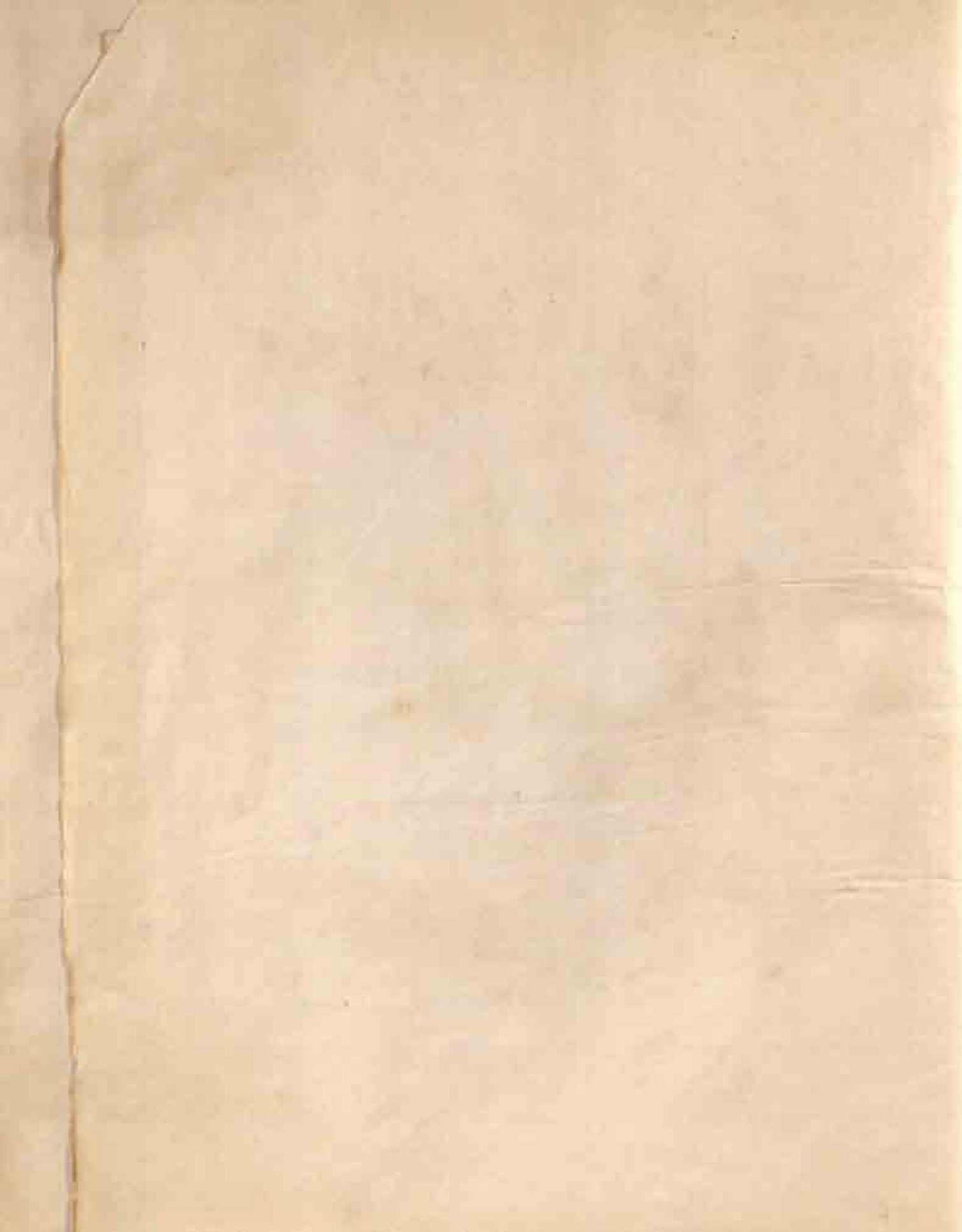
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VOLUME XXXV

1963-1964

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NOTE.—Dr. D. C. Sircar retired from the post of the Government Epigraphist for India with effect from 8-6-1962. Before proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement on 14-6-1961 he had sent the material to the Press for Parts I to VII of this Volume of which he is therefore the Editor.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
VOLUME XXXIII

Page 265, lines 32-35.—*Read Solanpur* (Lat. 20° 52' & Long. 86° 21' in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of Balasore District, Orissa) on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jāipur town, suggests itself as a possible representative of Salāgapura.

VOLUME XXXIV

Page 215, line 21.—*For contemporaneously read contemporaneously*

.. 236, f.n. 13 (line 2).—*For ved read engraved*

.. 237, f.n. 6.—*For erasure read erasure*

.. 246, line 2.—*Read about 3/4*

VOLUME XXXV

Page 6, line 30.—*For c. 275-345 A.D. read c. 265-335 A.D.*

.. 16, line 18.—*For ācetanika read ācetanika*

.. 37, lines 9-10.—*For fortunately read fortunately*

.. 37, line 12.—*For except read except for*

.. 37, line 17.—*For consonants read consonants*

.. 44, line 36.—*For rammar read grammar.*

.. 49, f.n. 2.—*Read : ibid vol. XXXI, Plate etc.*

.. 49, f.n. 14.—*for vol. XXI, read vol. XXXI.*

.. 51, line 21.—*For Śaṅkavergaḍe read Śaṅkavergaḍe*

.. 51, line 32.—*For governor of the Yādava king read governor under the Yādava king*

.. 54, f.n. 2.—*Read seems*

.. 64, f.n. 3.—*Correct into Read pravēśat=Chhandōga-Bhāradvāja*

.. 66, line 23.—*For general read generally*

.. 66, f.n. 3 (line 2).—*For palaeography read palaeography*

.. 68, f.n. 3.—*For Gṛīhahastin read Grahahastin*

.. 71, line 26.—*For Sanskriti read Sanskrit*

.. 73, line 7.—*For it read It*

.. 73, line 10.—*For Sātakarni- read Sātakarṇi-*

- Page 73, line 11.—For *Maharashtrin* read *Mahārāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 12.—For *Rashtrin* read *Rāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 13.—For *rashtrin* read *rāshtrin*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *Rashtrakūta* read *Rāshtrakūta*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *rāshtra* read *rāshtra*
- „ 73, line 14.—For *Gramakuta* read *Grāmakūta*
- „ 73, line 15.—For *grama* read *grāma*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 9).—For *asoka* read *Aśoka*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 13).—For *Maharathi* read *Mahārāṭhi*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 14).—For *Sātikānām* read *Śātikānām*
- „ 73, f.n. 1 (line 15).—For *Sāntika* read *Śāntika*
- „ 73, f.n. 2 (line 2).—For *Rāshtrika* *Raṣhika* read *Rāshṭrika* *Raṣṭrika*
- „ 74, line 4.—For *made ont* read *made out*
- „ 74, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *the* read *the*
- „ 77, line 21.—For *Chujukulasya* read *Chuṣukulasya*
- „ 81, line 2.—For *2t* read *It*
- „ 81, line 4.—For *Tiktama* read *Vikrama*
- „ 81, line 5.—For *on* read *of*
- „ 81, line 6.—Read *Bihar*
- „ 81, line 7.—For *safer* read *tefer*
- „ 81, line 17.—For *to* read *the*
- „ 81, line 21.—For *tae* read *the*
- „ 81, line 23.—For *apparectly* read *apparently*
- „ 81, line 23.—For *wath* read *with*
- „ 81, line 25.—For *Riṣhīpati* read *Piṣhīpati*
- „ 81, line 27.—For *meditatsug* read *meditating*
- „ 81, line 33.—For *works Pacharakshā*, read *work Pañcharakṣā*
- „ 82, line 16.—For *Piṣhīpati* read *Āchārya*
- „ 87, lines 2-3.—For *Indravāsin* read *Indrakēsin*
- „ 88, text line 8.—For **dereē* read **dereyam*

Page 88, text line 11.—For *idam=a|j*⁹ read *idan=a|j*⁹

.. 90, line 13.—For *to succeed* read *from succeeding*

.. 91, line 2.—For *taken parts* read *taken part*

.. 96, line 16.—For *spellings* read *spelling*

.. 97, line 10.—For *abov* read *above*

.. 99, line 7.—For *salughter* read *slaughter*

.. 99, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For *balief* read *belief*

.. 100, line 8.—For *ambā-kapilika* read *ambā-kapilika*

.. 100, line 22.—For *may have been* read *may have been*

.. 101, line 16.—For *plaeography* read *palaeography*

.. 101, line 28.—For *Gupta-Vallabhi* read *Gupta-Valabhi*

.. 102, last line.—For *chatsu* read *Chatsu*

.. 106, line 37.—For *line them* read *like them*

.. 107, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For *or a temple as mentioned in the Chifichani* read *of a temple mentioned in the Chinchani.*

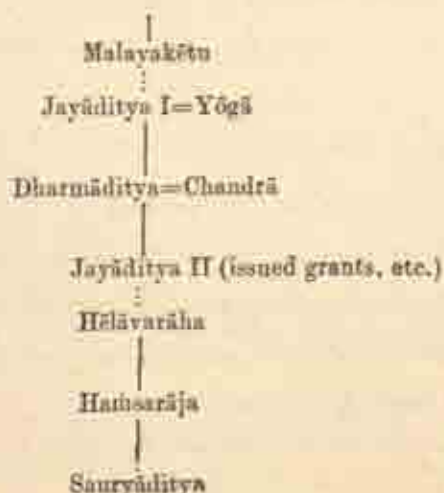
.. 110, line 23.—For *relations* read *associations*

.. 111, f.n. 5.—For *Ind. Aut.* read *Ind. Aut.*

.. 129, text line 10.—For *=astu=bhavatām* read *=astu bhavatām*

.. 129, text line 16.—For *-[ārthe]* read *-[ārthē]*

.. 131, the tabulated genealogy should be read as:



- Page 139, f.n. 1 (line 1).—For *before* read *before*
- „ 140, line 23.—For *lā* read *kā*
- „ 148, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For *sentence* read *sentence*
- „ 151, line 35.—Add *or* in the middle of *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- „ 152, line 7.—Add *or* *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- „ 152, text line 10.—For *plavat[ān*]i* read *plava[ān*]ti*
- „ 154, line 18.—For (lines 11-12); read (lines 10-11);
- „ 154, line 41.—For *Vrātēnājya* read *Vrātēnūtya*
- „ 156, text line 10.—For *ayara(cha)ndrō* read *jayara(cha)ndrō*
- „ 157, text line 21.—For *vīru-va(dvā)* read *vīru-vā(dvā)*
- „ 160, last line.—For *twenty thousand* read *two thousand*.
- „ 165, text line 22.—For *ahutiṁ* read *āhutiṁ*
- „ 166, text line 62.—For *anayataṛa* read *a(ch=ā)nyatra*
- „ 167, text line 75.—For *ha-patiḥ=ṭavyō* read *ha-pati-atavyō*
- „ 167, text line 93.—For *dēuā* read *dēvā*
- „ 167, f.n. 2.—Delete this foot-note
- „ 170, line 17.—For *attigiance* read *allegiance*
- „ 175, text line 12.—For [*आत्रा*] read [*ओत्रा*]
- „ 180, line 330.—For *dialoged* read *dislodged*
- „ 182, line 8.—For (*Isāna*) read (*Īsāna*)
- „ 187, line 26.—For *Bhailastāmīdēvapura* read *Bhailasvāmīdēvapura*
- „ 194, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *tha* read *that*
- „ 203, line 7.—For *hould* read *should*
- „ 203, line 42.—Add *verse 13 Arjū* after *Sragdharā*
- „ 207, line 2.—For *Vijayachan-dradēva* read *Vijayachamīradēva*
- „ 207, line 4.—For *Jayachchan-īradēva* read *Jayachchamīradēva*
- „ 207, line 6.—For *Hari-ielindradēvō* read *Hariśchandradēvō*
- „ 207, line 27.—For *Gauruvīta* read *Gaurivīta*
- „ 207, f.n. 1 (line 5).—For *cha-nārahāsō* read *chandrahāsō*
- „ 211, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *pradettāh* read *pradattāh*

Page 212, line 4.—For *avour* read *favour*.

„ 212, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *śrīmad*—*Ēdakūṇḍyām* read *śrīmad-Ēdakūṇḍyām*

„ 212, f.n. 4 (line 2).—For *Haris* read *Haris-*

„ 216, f.n. 3.—For *rodundant* read *redundant*

„ 218, line 34.—For *Thakkura* read *Thakkura*

„ 221, line 21.—For *Tāṇḍivāḍa* read *Tāṇḍivāḍa*

„ 221, line 34.—For *56* read *88*

„ 221, f.n. 3.—For *difficult* read *difficult*

„ 223, text line 2.—For *कोल (ति)* read *कोलि*

„ 225, line 8.—For *thore-fourths* read *three-fourths*

„ 236, f.n. 2.—For *Gugulin* read *Guggulin*

„ 237, line 2.—For *accuring* read *accurring*

„ 237, line 6.—For *Bhāhmapas* read *Brāhmapas*

„ 237, line 8.—For *whosever* read *whosoever*

„ 237, line 21.—For *authorities* read *authorities*

„ 237, line 29.—For *unmbet* read *number*

„ 238, text line 15.—For *Pajmā(dam)nābhō* read *Pahma(dma)nābhō*

„ 238, Postscript, line 4.—For *ndependent* read *independent*

„ 238, Postscript, line 5.—For *year has* read *years are*

„ 238, f. n. 5.—For *Jakāpī* read *Jakīpī*

„ 239, line 14.—For *as having brought* read *as having been brought*

„ 239, f.n. 2.—For *No. 5* read *No. 55*

„ 242, f.n. 8.—For *Sanakrit* read *Sanskrit*

„ 244, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *gūṣhe-idānīm is intended* read *gūṣhe—idānīm is intended*

„ 245, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *aritches* read *articles*

„ 248, line 5.—For *resespet* read *respect*

„ 248, line 20.—For *Shāthakayī* read *Shathakaya*

„ 248, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *Hātakayisha* read *Hātakayisa*

„ 251, f.n. 3.—For *Unity* read *Unity*

„ 251, f.n. 4 (line 6).—For *als* read *also*

„ 259, text line 25.—Read *ma(mā)ṇḍaḷika*

Page 260, text line 47.—For Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m] read Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m]ḥ

- .. 261, f.n. 5 (line 3).—For kng read king
- .. 267, line 9.—For former read latter
- .. 268, line 1.—For Veṅgai- read Vēṅgai- and for Virarājendra's read Virarājendra's
- .. 270, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For 19-20 read 319-20
- .. 271, line 4.—For adhikārika read ādhikārika
- .. 274, line 10.—For was read were
- .. 274, f.n. 7 (line 2).—For Rāshtrakūta read Rāshtrakūta
- .. 275, line 10.—For inscriptions read inscription
- .. 275, line 15.—For of two rivers read by two rivers
- .. 276, text line 8.—For *ṣpārjita read *ṣpārjita
- .. 277, text line 25.—For mah-ānubhāvō(vah) prahata read mah-ānubhāvō=prahata
- .. 277, text line 27.—For samudr-āntikām= read samudr-āntikā(ka)m=
- .. 278, text line 39.—For *hāri read *hā(kā)ri
- .. 278, f.n. 3.—For reads read read
- .. 279, text line 53.—For sad-āṃṣitamayatva-guṇi(n-ō)-(days)= cha read sad=āṃṣitamaya-tva-guṇi nayaṣ=cha.
- .. 279, text line 65.—For bhōjayataḥ read bhōjayataḥ
- .. 281, f.n. 5 (line 3).—For Kālavād read Kāṭāvād
- .. 282, line 6.—For its writer was Divirapati Haragaṇa read its writer was Divirapati Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Divirapati Haragaṇa.
- .. 282, f.n. 5 (line 1).—Add to after according
- .. 285, f.n. 10.—For *vikram-bḥ read *vikramā=
- .. 286, text line 42.—For *dēya-saahitaḥ read *dēya-varjitaḥ
- .. 286, f.n. 7.—For full-stop is indicated read full-stop is indicated
- .. 288, line 4.—For Gjuarat read Gujarat
- .. 290, line 13.—For vyavaharika read vyāvahārika
- .. 290, f.n. 13 (line 1).—For *ānupurvi cha dēśaḥ read *ānupūrvā cha dēśaḥ
- .. 291, line 33.—For Chinchini read Chinchani
- .. 292, f.n. 6 (lines 1-2).—For nagaravaruchchai read nagaravaruchchai

4335, pt I

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA ✓

(6 Plates)

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(Received on 18.3.1960)

1. Two Ikshvāku Inscriptions dated in the Cyclic year Vijaya

A. Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.

This inscription, now preserved in the Nāgārjunikonda Museum, is indeed one of the most important among the Ikshvāku epigraphs so far discovered. It was edited by J. Ph. Vogel along with a large number of Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions published in Vol. XX and XXI of this journal. Unfortunately Vogel's transcript and translation of this particular record, which appears in Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. L), are both full of errors. His failure to read and interpret the inscription correctly seems to be largely due to the fact that its impressions examined by him were unsatisfactory. This may also be the reason why the then editor of the journal was unable to improve upon Vogel's reading to any considerable extent. The impressions of the inscription prepared under my supervision in February 1960, one of which is illustrated herewith, are better than its illustration in Vogel's paper: in op. cit., Plate facing p. 63. The record contains thirteen lines of writing covering an area about 14½ inches in height and 13 inches in breadth. It is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. Its characters are similar to those of other epigraphs of the Ikshvākus and its language is Prakrit.

The most serious flaw in Vogel's treatment of the epigraph concerns its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta and, in lines 2-3, Vogel reads: *raho*¹ *Mādhariputasa Ikshvākasa siri-Virapurisadatta vasasanaya samvachhara vimsayam vasa-pakhsam prathamam divasam bitiyam*. The passage has been translated by him as: "In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariputta siri-Virapurisadatta of [the house of] the Ikshvākas, ... in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day." There are two glaring errors in the above reading of the passage. The first of these is *vasasanaya*² which is quite meaningless and, it will be seen, has been actually left out in Vogel's translation. The correct reading is certainly *vasa-satāya* which occurs in some early inscriptions and, as we have explained above,³ stands for Sanskrit *varsha-satāya*. This seems to indicate that the pious work recorded in the inscription was performed with the desire that the reigning king might live for one hundred years. It is interesting to note that this expression as well as the similar *varsha-sahasāya* occurs in inscriptions between the name of the king and the date falling in his reign.

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² The same word has been read by Vogel elsewhere also as *vasasanaya* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 66, Pillar inscription M-3, text line 5). But the then editor of the journal suggested that it possibly reads *vasasatāya* (ibid., p. 71, note 1). Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 230.

³ See Vol. XXXIV, p. 241, note 1.

The other mistake is in Vogel's reading of *vinēyaṃ* after *saṃvachhara*, which has been translated as 'twentieth'. Apparently he has taken *vinēya* to stand for Sanskrit *vināśa*. The reading of the two words is, however, clearly *saṃvachhara*[ś] *Vijaya*[m]. I see no *anuvāda* sign for *vi* in the second of the two words and there cannot be any doubt about the reading of its second *akṣara* as it is exactly the same as the second *akṣara* in *Vājaṭṭa* in the line immediately following (i.e. line 4). The word is therefore certainly *Vijaya* and not *vinēya* as read by Vogel.

It is clear that, unlike all other published inscriptions of the Ikshvāku which bear dates only in regnal years, the inscription under study mentions instead the name of the year according to Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India. This is of exceptional importance for two reasons. In the first place, it offers the earliest instance of the use of the cyclic year in Indian inscriptions. We know that the use of the cyclic years was much more popular in South India than in the North, the instances of its use in Northern epigraphs being much rarer and later.¹ So far, however, the earliest instance of its use in the South was traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription² of the Early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, which is dated in the year Sudhārtha taken as corresponding to 602-03 A.D. according to the mean-sign system. But our inscription shows that the cyclic years were used in South Indian epigraphs as early as the third century A.D., i.e. several centuries earlier. Secondly, it is also well known that the Ikshvākus flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region after the decline of the Sātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and before the Pallava conquest of the said area in the fourth century A.D. and that the rule of the second Ikshvāku king Virapuruṣadatta, who was the son and successor of Chāntamūla and the father and predecessor of Eṭuvula Chāntamūla (whose latest date is his 24th regnal year), can be assigned to about the third quarter of the third century A.D.³ The only year falling in the period in question, which can be equated with the cyclic year *Vijaya* according to the South Indian system, is 273-74 A.D. The earlier and later years corresponding to *Vijaya* are 213-14 and 333-34 A.D., both of which appear to be wide off the mark. Thus the present inscription is the only record so far discovered, which proves that the rains in 273 A.D. fell in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapuruṣadatta. This is a very important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general.

It may be argued that, since no other published Ikshvāku epigraph is known to be dated in a cyclic year, the passage *saṃvachharaṃ Vijayaṃ* should better be interpreted in a different way. But we find it difficult to agree with such a view. Firstly, the passage can hardly be explained in any other satisfactory way. Secondly, it has to be noted that, among the records of the early rulers of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, the cyclic year is mentioned only in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and that, even as late as the seventh century A.D., the mention of cyclic years was not a regular feature of the dates of South Indian documents. One justification for the mention of the year *Vijaya* alone in the Ikshvāku records may be that it was originally regarded as the first year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle.⁴

The inscription begins with the word *sidham* (*siddham*) and introduces the date of the record as the cyclic year *Vijaya*, the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season (probably Śrāvāṣa-hadi 2),⁵ falling in the reign of Rājya Māthariputra Virapuruṣadatta of the Ikshvāku family, who was the son of Mahārāja Chāntamūla, described in this context as the performer of the *Aśvamedha*.

¹ The earliest record dated in the V.S. and the cyclic year, as noticed in Bhandarkar's List, is the Gayā inscription of 1176 A.D. (No. 270).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 348-49.

³ Cf. my *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 9, 16. In this work, Virapuruṣadatta's rule was tentatively assigned to c. 240-65 A.D.

⁴ *Apte, Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.; Monier-Williams, *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. Note that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the year *Vijaya*.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 119, note 2; p. 134, note 6; p. 484.

and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. Then it states that the *chhāyā-thabho* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the *saga-gata* (*svarga-gata*, i.e. deceased) *Rājasa Vāsishṭhīputra Sāmāsa Chāntamūla* [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamūla is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnishtoma, Vājapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of *kala* measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression *chhāyā-thabho* in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamūla's death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamūla's sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamūla's sisters includes the names : Anantaśrī, Skandaśrī, Vindhya-bodhiśrī, Mitraśrī, Samuśrī (Samudraśrī ?), Nāgavasūśrī, Maṅguśrī, Skandakoṭiśrī, Mahisāśrī, Kundamaśrī, Mūlaśrī, Āryakoṭiśrī and Mridviśrī. The king's mothers then were Nāgaśrī, Kāmaśrī (or Rāmaśrī), Golaśrī, Khaliśrī, Bodhiśrī, Skandaśrī, Satliśrī, Perajatiśrī, Paṇḍitaśrī, Śivanāgaśrī and Samudraśrī. The names of the king's queens likewise were : Bappiśrī, Nadiśrī or Nandiśrī, Āryaśrī, Kṛishṇaśrī and Śivanāgaśrī. The word *śrī* suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word *śrī*. They are Saraśikā and Kusumalatā described in the record as *abhatarikā* (Sanskrit *ābhyanṭarikā*), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation *ābhyanṭarikā* is, however, often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'. Vogel read the word as *cubhatarikā* which he failed to interpret.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddhantī [||*] mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa aneka-hirapak[o]ti-(padā)lyisa
- 2 siri-Chāntamūlāsa putasa raṁṇo Mā[dha]ri-putasa Ikhākuna siri-Virapurisadata[sa]
- 3 vasa-astāya* savachhara[m] Vijaya[m]* vāsa-pakham prathamam 1 divasa
hitiya[m] saga-gata
- 4 raṁṇo agihot-āgih[o]ma-vājapey-asamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-k[o]ti-go-satasahasā-
- 5 kala-satasahasā-padāyisa sav-athesu a[pa]tiyata-samkapasa V[āsiṭh]i-putasa
- 6 Ikhākuna sāmī-siri-Cha[m]tamulasa saha(ho)darāhi matāhi ma[ha]d[o]vihi Anatasiriya⁴
- 7 Khadulasiriya Vijha[o]dhisiriya* Mita[s]i[ri]ya* Samu[s]iriya* Nāgavasusiriya
- 8 Maṅgusiriya* Khandakotisiriya Mahisarasiriya Kondamatisiriya* Mula[s]iriya

¹ From impressions. Minor differences with Vogel's transcript are not indicated here.

* Vogel reads *vasasāyisa* which is meaningless.

* Vogel reads *sikanyam* and interprets the word as 'twentieth'.

* Vogel : *Samudrasiriya* (1).

* Vogel : *Vijhaṭasiriya*.

* Vogel : *Mitasiriya*.

* The intended reading may be *Samudrasiriya* as in line 11.

* Vogel : *Nāgasiriya*.

* Vogel : *Rajumati*.

- 9 Ayakoṭṭasiriya Maduvāsiriya¹ Nāgasiriya [Kā]masiriya² Golasiriya
 10 Khasiriya³ [Bo]dhisiriya⁴ Khadasiriya Satilasiriya⁵ Perajāsiriya⁶
 11 Paṇḍitasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudāsiriya⁷ Bāpisiriya Nadāsiriya
 12 Ayaasiriya Karinhasiriya⁸ Siṭvanāga[siriya-abhatarikāḥi]⁹ cha
 13 Sarasikāya Bhā[Ka]mmalatāya cha chhāyā¹⁰-thabbe¹¹

B. Inscription of Ehuva Chāntamūla, 333 A. D.

This inscription¹² is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning Ghāt. There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being incised on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The characters of the inscription belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and its language is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku Rājan Ehuva Chāntamūla, the son of Rājan Virapuruṣhadatta and the grandson of Mahārāja Chāntamūla who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Aśvamedha and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the first day of the second fortnight of the summer season (probably Chaitra-aśvini 1) in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ehuva Chāntamūla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikshvākus, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Virapuruṣhadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below, the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A. D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *siddham* (*siddham*) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be *Bhagavat Nodagīśvarasvāmīn*. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three akṣaras is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Vāsanthīputra Ehuva Chāntamūla, the son of king Virapuruṣhadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamūla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the *devakula* and *thala* (*sthala*) of Lord Nodagīśvarasvāmīn and created an *akṣaya-nirā* (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word *devakula* means 'a shrine' while

¹ There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

² The reading may also be *Kāmo* as in Vogel's transcript.

³ Vogel: *Vai*.

⁴ Vogel: *Bodhisiriya*.

⁵ Vogel: *Satili*.

⁶ Vogel: *Para*.

⁷ There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

⁸ Read *Kanda*. Vogel read *Katasiriya*; but the correct reading was suggested in an editorial note.

⁹ Vogel reads *abhatarikāḥi* which is meaningless.

¹⁰ Vogel reads *igam*, while the editor seems to suggest *days*.

¹¹ The punctuation is indicated by a slightly slanting horizontal line. The word *thāpita* is to be understood (cf. No. 3, line 7, below).

¹² This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 78. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 8, wrongly describes the pillar bearing the inscription as a *dharma-stambha* relating to the god Bhagavara.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE I

1A.—Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.



Scale : One-third

1B.—INSCRIPTION OF EHUVULA CHANTAMULA, 333 A.D.

Left Half



Right Half



(from Photographs)

athala seems to indicate, in the present context, a *śaḍikā* in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Khrvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figure responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the *saha-matis* of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the *antahpura-mahattarikā* Bhāgavatā and the *śreṣṭhī-bālikā* (daughter of a *śreṣṭhī* or banker) Ratavaśī (or Rativaśī). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word *saha-mati* seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in the performance of the pious deeds in question, i.e. contributed to the construction of the *devakula* and *athala* as well as to the creation of the *akshaya-nīvi*. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word *seyatha* (Pali *seyyathā*, Sanskrit *sat-gathā*) meaning 'namely'. *Antahpura-mahattarikā* was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the *akshaya-nīvi* or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (*akshaya-nīvi cha kalūya masanumūṣikassa vudhissa*—Sanskrit *akshaya-nīviṇ cha krūtiṃ māsanumūṣikyāḥ vṛddhyāḥ*). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred *dināris* was deposited in four different guilds, seventy *dināris* in one of them and ten *dināris* in each one of the others. The coin called *dināri* may be the same as *dināri-māshaka* known from other Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions or the coin of which the *dināri-māshaka* was the $\frac{1}{16}$ th part in weight or value.¹ *Dināri* is derived from the Roman coin named *denarius*; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten *dināris* were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called *paṇḍita-seni* and *pūṣika-seni*. The first of these may be Sanskrit *pāṇḍita-śrēṇī*, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali *pūṣika-seni* meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.²

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Parādika, Bhagaphula and Sathapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishment (*oṣṭama*—Sanskrit *chitravā*),³ apparently of the *devakula* and *athala*, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the *śreṣṭhī* (*seṭhi-pamakkha-nigama*), probably meaning a board like the Pañchāyat,⁴ should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Khrvula Chāntamūla's father king Virapurnahadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A. D. As the son must

¹ Cf. Tamil *oṭ-āṇi* (literally, 'similar desire') meaning 'help'.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 222; *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 27, note.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 211.

⁴ For *skitana* in another Nāgārjunikonda inscription and in an inscription from Nasik, see above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

⁵ Cf. the board of administrators consisting of the *Nagara-śreṣṭhī*, *Sārikavāha*, *Prathamakūṭa* and *Prathamakapastha*, known from the early inscriptions of East India and the *Chauthā* (*Chaturjātaka*) headed by the *Nagar-seṭhi* in Rajasthan. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; Vol. XXXIII, p. 193; Vol. XXXIV, p. 142.

have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A. D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son's time falling in the latter part of the year 373-74 A. D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigrapha seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the data available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Virapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year¹ while those of his son Ehuvala Chāntamūla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rajapurushadatta) are respectively their twenty-fourth and eleventh regnal years.² The long intervening period between Virapurushadatta's record of 273 A. D. and Ehuvala Chāntamūla's inscription of 333 A. D. would suggest that the year 333 A. D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A. D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Mañchikallu inscription³ of Simhavarmān and the Mayidavolu plates⁴ of Śivaskandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A. D. This would also suggest that Pallava Simhavarmān of the Mañchikallu inscription and Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates⁵ ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A. D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Ābhīra king Vasmusha ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth.⁶ The date of Vasmusha's inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A. D., which is generally believed to be an Ābhīra institution, would yield 278-79 A. D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Virapurushadatta ruling in 273 A. D. was overthrown by the Ābhīra king. If such was the case, the reign of Virapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A. D., the Ābhīra interregnum to c. 275-80 A. D., and the reign of Ehuvala Chāntamūla to c. 280-335 A. D. In case, however, it is believed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvākus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Virapurushadatta and his son and grandson to c. 275-345 A. D. In the former alternative, we have to think that the Ikshvākus succeeded in ousting the Ābhīras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alternative, we have possibly to suggest that the Ābhīras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvāku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvākus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

TEXT⁷

Sāthan |⁸

1 namo bhagavate(ito) sava-loka-mahitasa [Nodagī⁹] varasāmisa [I¹⁰] [mahā]rājasa [samedha-
yājīsa auka-hirapa-koṭi-padāyīsa siri-Chatamulasa putasa].....¹¹

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 83.

² See *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.; below, No. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ The word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 2.

⁹ The words *raṇa* and *Māharipantam* may have been engraved here.

- 2 siri-Virapurisadattasa putasa radhā Vasīthiputasa [Ikshā]kuna siri-Ehavala-Chatamulasa savachharari Viṣa. '1[mha]-pa [2] dīva 1 [raṇo] veja[yi]ka syu-vadhani[ka] cha apana
- 3 saha-mati[pa] seyatha atepura-mahatarikāya Bhagava[tāya] seṭhi-bālikāya Ra[tava]saya viḍaya.....
- 4 bhagavato [Noḍagī]sarasāmīna devakula thala [cha kārī]tā akhaya-nivi cha katāna masanumasikasa vadhira.....dhika-seniya [dināri]¹.....²
[dināri] dasa 10
- 5 pamka-seniye dināri dasa 10 puvika-seniye dināri dasa 10 [1*] eva[m] senisu chatusu.....
dinari-sa[ta].
- 6 sara chhaya paraputa ni
vakāye sadha
- 7 thika tarapa [Pa]raḍika Bhagaphula Sathapa [1*]
apanā cha chitanadī katavadi [1*] eva cha akaramita seṭhi-pamakha nīgam[o] kara-
yanti³ ||⁴

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as **A**, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a *Masūpa* in Site No. 9 (Longhurst's Stūpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called **B**, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.⁵

Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in **A** covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in **B**, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The characters of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the same date which is the **fifteenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of the **summer season** (probably Vaiśākha-sudi 15) in the **eighth regnal year** of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala Chāntamūla. The king is mentioned in **A** as the son of Virapurushadatta, but in **B** both as the son of Virapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chāntamūla.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadasiri (Chandrasiri) who was the dear brother of Nāgasiri (Nāgaśiri). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in

¹ The two damaged akṣaras here are no doubt "yath pi".

² The context suggests that 70 dināris were deposited in the śrēṣṭi in question.

³ The name of the guild here cannot be deciphered.

⁴ The word is used in the sense of Sanskrit śārayeṣu.

⁵ The punctuation seems to be indicated by a few vertical strokes.

⁶ An inaccurate notice of the first of these two records appears in *A.E.Sp.*, 1935-39, pp. 57 (No. 452), 71.

honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (*Buddha-Dharmā-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagararata-girivara-nagumavara-baṇu-deyadhama-kāra*). The place where Chandrāśrī performed the pious deeds recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) in the Mahā-nikāya of the Apāramahāvinsāśāliya at Vijayapura on the Śrīparvata. The word *nikāya* in *Mahā-nikāya* seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity. The name of Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna at Vijayapura, which is mentioned in another Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning of *vaḍhamāna* is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna was situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Apāramahāvinsāśāliya sect, it seems to mean a religious institution probably maintained by the chief *śreṣṭhī* or banker.¹

Inscription A states that Chandrāśrī made a *sala-maḍaya* (*sala-maḍaya*), i.e. a pavilion made of stone, and a *bhara-sala* for a particular Ārya-saṅgha (Ārya-saṅgha), i.e. a community of Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining *Nirvāṇa*. The name of the Ārya-saṅgha is not readable in either of the two inscriptions. The expression *bhara-sala* seems to be a mistake for *bhara-sālā* (Sanskrit *bhāṇḍāra-sālā*) meaning 'a store-room'. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities of Chandrāśrī as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e. Phuvula Chāntamūla). Lines 14-17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandrāśrī also built a *sālā* (probably 'a hall') in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (*sukh-athanāya* = Sanskrit *sukh-āthanāya*).

Inscription B records that the same Chandrāśrī built a *sālā* for the *Theras* (senior Buddhist monks) residing at the *sala-maḍaya* of the Ārya-saṅgha mentioned in A. This act was also done for the king's longevity. Lines 14-17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of A such as the reference to the honoring of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness. But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The geographical names Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well known.

TEXT^a

A

- 1 * * [i]r[i]-Vīrapurasa[da]sa
 2¹raño Vāseṭhi-puta[sa] [i]kha²
 3 Phuvula-Chāntamūlāsa savachhara³
 4 [ma] gimha-pakha chavutha divasa pa⁴
 5 [pa]vata Vijayapura Apārama[hāva]ma⁵

¹ Ukhastri-vaḍhamāna (Skt. *Ukhasṭri-vaḍhamāna*, 'a vaḍhamāna maintained by a person named Ukhasṭri'), known from the Ghāṭapālā inscriptions, was a similar institution at ancient Kaṇṇakāśānta (modern Ghāṭapālā), although Vogel regarded it as the old name of Ghāṭapālā itself (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

² From impressions.

³ The damaged *aksharas* appear to be *vidham rāṇa*.

⁴ The word lost at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 is *putasa*.

⁵ The lost *aksharas* are "Kānta rāṇa" as suggested by B.

⁶ The lost *aksharas* are *atha*, as suggested by B.

⁷ The lost *aksharas* are "divasa Sira" as suggested by B.

⁸ The lost *aksharas* are "sala" as suggested by B.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE II

2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula, Year 8

A



(from Photograph)

B



(from Photograph)

- 6 yānā mahā-nigāye Sēthivara-vaḍham[āne].....
 7¹śikara Ariya-saṅgha[sa] se²
 8 [ḍa]va padithapeti bhara³[sa]lani niva[na]⁴
 9 v[ē]ti Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha-[ma]gala...
 10 ...⁵vara-gīrivara-ne[ga]ma]...
 11 ...⁶bahu-(de)ṣyadhama-kāraka
 12 [u]phā[pā]sako Cha[ḍa]siri cha [Nā]...
 13 ...⁷piya-bhātuk[o] raṇo ā[ya]⁸
 14 ...apana mātā-pituno.....⁹
 15 ...¹⁰riyake nimitta sālā
 16 ... purat[o] [kā]śāpitā
 17 ... [mahe] sukh-athanāya

B¹

- 1 Sīdha | mahārājasa aamedha-yāji-
 2 an a[ne]ka-hirasa-ko[t]i-padāyina siri-Cham[ta]mu-
 3 lasa p[u]tasa mahārājasa siri-[Vī]ra[pu]-
 4 risadattasa putasa raṇo Vāsethī-putasa Ikhā-
 5 [ku]na siri-[E]havu[la]¹¹-Chantamūlasa sava[chha]ra aṭhama gi-
 6 mha-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate
 7 Vijayapure Aparamahāvīrasa[li]yānani ma[ha]-
 8 [vina]saliyānani¹² mahā-nigāye Sēthivara-vaḍhamāne
 9 kasa Ariya-saṅghasa sela-[maḍava]-

¹ The damaged akṣaras at the beginning of the line look like *Udina*.

² The lost akṣaras are "to-se".

³ The intended reading seems to be *śadāra* or *śadāra*.

⁴ The lost akṣaras are "pa nītha".

⁵ The word lost at the end of line 9 and at the beginning of line 10 is *magara* as suggested by B.

⁶ The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *vara* as suggested by B.

⁷ The akṣaras lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 are "gaṇi" as suggested by B.

⁸ The word lost here is *śulkaṇi* as suggested by B.

⁹ The word *pāḍa* (probably *pāḍya*, 'for honouring') occurs here in B.

¹⁰ B suggests that the akṣaras lost here is *śā*.

¹¹ This is *A. H. Ep.*, 1936-38, No. B 84.

¹² The letter is written slightly above the line.

¹³ The akṣaras *ma[ha]saliyānani* are redundant.

10 [vathavana] therana sālā nivajaya [na]tha[]tu¹ [Budha]-Dhama...

11 ...²magala-nagaravara-girivara-naigama[vara]-balu-deya...

12 ... karako³ upāsako Chadasiri cha Nāgasiri ...

13 ... ko⁴ raño āyu-vadhanika kata ...

14 ... a[pano] mātā-pituno pūjā ...

15 ... [na]puta bhuriyako n[mi]tta sa

16 ma-bhāgati⁵ purāṇa dātā apa

17 neva gama[ne] vakk-athanaya

3. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared *Mandapa* in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The characters are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit. It is dated the seventh day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the thirteenth regnal year of the Ikshvāku king Vāsishthiputra Ehuvala Chāntamūla who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhaya-thambha* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of *Mahāsēnāpati Kumāra* Eli Ehuvalādāsasaka. In this name, *sāsaka* is a suffix and no part of the actual name while *Ehuvala* is the same as *Ehuvala* and its variants. Eli Ehuvalādāsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhikā Yakhiṇikā who was a *mahishi* (i.e. queen) of the Ikshvāku king Māthari-putra Virapurushadatta. We know that king Virapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuvala Chāntamūla probably born of Vāsishthī Bhajidevā, another queen of Virapurushadatta.⁶ Eli Ehuvalādāsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuvala Chāntamūla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (Kumāra) Eli Ehuvalādāsa was a *Mahāsēnāpati* (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') no doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuvala Chāntamūla. Opposite Nāgarjunikonda, there is a locality called Elēvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ikshvāku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods.⁷ The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called

¹ The intended word seems to be *nihareti*, 'completes'.

² The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *Sopha* (*Saṅgha*) as suggested by A.

³ The word lost between *deya* and *karako* is *dāsa* as suggested by A.

⁴ The expression partially lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 is *papa-bhāṇa* as suggested by A.

⁵ It is difficult to say whether the intended expression is *paṭikṣa-jāgṛh*.

⁶ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 22-24, Inscription No. G, text line 7.

⁷ Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1957-58, pp. 9-10; 1958-59, p. 11.

Eleśvara probably installed by a person named Eli. Whether the name of Eleśvatam can thus be associated with Prince Eli Ehuvalādāsa of the Ikshvāku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word *eli*, probably connected with Telugu *eli* (from *eli*, 'to govern') meaning 'a ruler, king, master', is also found in the name of Talavara Elīri mentioned in a Nāgārjunikonda inscription¹ of the eleventh regnal year of Ehuvalāstri (i.e. Ehuvala Chāntamūla).

The name of Eli Ehuvalādāsa's mother, who was one of the queens of Virapūruṣadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhikā Yakhilīnikā. In this, *nikā* (i.e. *anukā*) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhilī.² Mahavalabhikā seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahavalabhī although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhī in Kathiawar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.

TEXT³

1. Sidham | sāmisa rā[ñō] Vāse[thipu]tasa Ikshākusa
2. sirī-Ehuvala-(Chā)tamūlasa savachhara ta(te)rasa[ma]
3. gīm[h]apam pakha parichama 5 divasa satama 7 ra[ñō]
4. [Mā]dhari-pūtasa Ikshākusa[m] sa(s)ri-Virapūruṣadatta
5. mahisīa(ya) Mahavalabhikāya⁴ Yakhilīnikāya pu-
6. tasa mahāsenapatiṣa kum[ā]rasa Eli-Ehav[ā]-
7. lādāsaminakasa chhaya-tha[m]bh[o] thāpito⁵

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 2⁶

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology 1956-57—A Review*, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as 'a sculptured frieze in a Buddha-chaitya' and the inscription is stated to record 'the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a *śreṣṭhīn* (tradesman)'. There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha's life in medallions in deep relief along with *mithuna* figures at five places in bas-relief so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the *mithuna* in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 2 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The characters of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.

² Cf. the male name Yakhilī in a Barhut inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 237, No. 126).

³ From impressions. This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 70.

⁴ Probably we should not take it as *mahisī-anukā*.

⁵ The punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke preceded by a comma-like sign.

refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala Chāntamāla and is dated the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season (probably Bhādrapada-sudi 5) in the king's twenty-fourth regnal year. Year 24 is the latest known date of Ehuvala Chāntamāla's reign.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *siddham*. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription.¹ The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The object of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (*śailamayī pratimā*) of the Bhāgavat Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevi-pariveśa at Vijayapuri on the Śrīparvata. We know that Vijayapuri was the name of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgārjunikonda valley while the Nāgārjunikonda hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e. the modern Nallamalai range. The word *pariveśa* means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monastery'. The name Mahādevi-pariveśa suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Ehuvala Chāntamāla.

Besides the epithet *Bhāgavat*, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz. *Saṃyak-sambuddha* (one who is perfectly enlightened), *Sarva-sattva-śaṃsa* (one who is the best among all beings) and *sarva-guṇa-pāramī-prāpta* (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word *pāramī* and *pāramiṣṭh* are used in Pāli in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a *śreṣṭhī* (i.e. a banker) from the Syandaka-parvata apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The *śreṣṭhī* is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the *śreṣṭhīnī*, his son named *Iśvarabhartṛ* or 'bhāṭṭi', as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (*svajana-sambandhi-varga*). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his own self and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of *Iśvaradatta* belonging to a sect, probably called Baranakiya, which belonged to a *kula* (clan), possibly called *Iruśaka*.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the *deya-dharma*, i.e. the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the geographical names in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapuri, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like *Baranakiya* applied to the name of *Iśvaradatta*, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like Baranaka, although its identification is uncertain.

TEXT²

Siddham³ siddham [□] mahārājasya Ikshvākūnām (pāṇ) 521⁴ Ehuvala-Chāntamālasya samva(samva)tsarath chaturvīśam varsha-pakṣam chaturthi(na)m divasam pañchamam⁵ Śrī[parvate] [Vijaya]pū(pu)ryyam Ma[hā]devi-[pa]riva[ṣṭe] Iru[śaka(?)nām

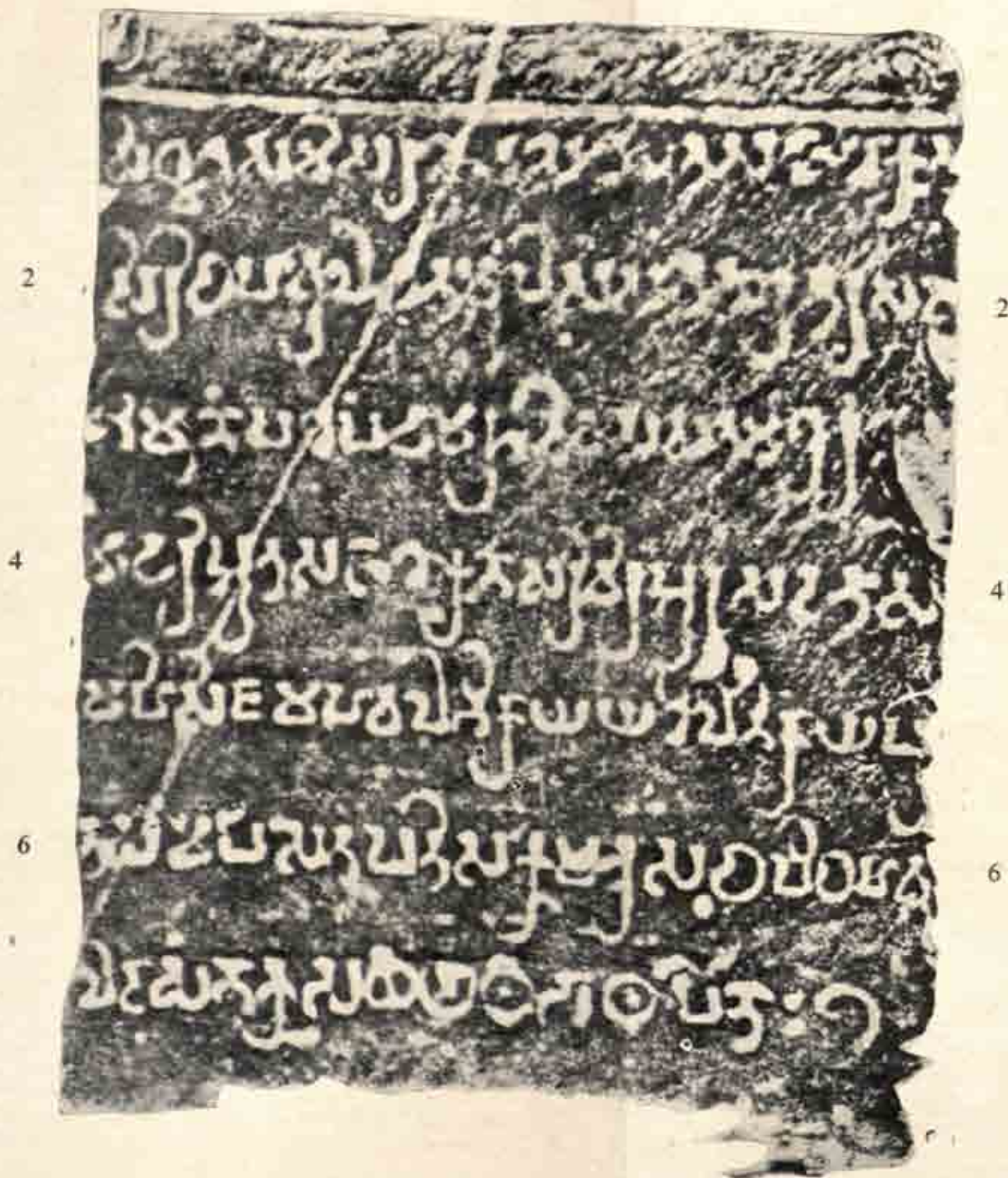
¹ For a similar feature, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 101, text line 1.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol. Note that the word *siddham* follows the symbol indicating the same word apparently due to the inadvertence of the scribe.

⁴ *Śaṃkṣī* has not been observed here.

⁵ Read *sambandhi chaturvīśam moshī pakṣe chaturthi divasam pañchamam*.



(from Photograph)

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula, Year 24
Section I



Section II



Section III



Section IV



(from Photograph)

[kula]prasa[staya] Ra[mu]n[ā]k[īyānā]h(nām) It[ī]([avarada]ttaya putreṇa Syandaka-parvata-śreṣṭhina Ku[mā]ranandinā naha bharyyāya śreṣṭhīniya¹ putreṇa cha [āvarahartina² śeṣheṇa cha svajana-sambandhi- varggeṇa iyaṁ bha[ga]vato[ḥ] (taḥ) aarva(rva)-satv[o]([ttv-o]tta[ma]ya) aarva-gaṇa-pārami[ni] p[ar]vata[ya] samyak-sambuddhasya Buddha[ya] sāmāmya[ḥ] pratimā pratishṭhāpitā ātma[ya] aarva-satrā([ttv-ā]nā-cha hita-[sa]kḥ-ārtham[ritham] ||) bhavati-cha[ā]tra śloka(kṣa) [³ [Deva]-dharmam-ida(ma)-c-kṛitā yat-puṇya[m] samupārjjitam(tam) [⁴ te[na] puṇya(na) loka-yaṁ nir[vy]āṇam-adhigacchati ||⁵

5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuva Chāntamūla

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar said to be found near a *Mandapa* about 100 yards north-east of 'the Antiquity Section'. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The inscription in four lines is written in the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and in the Prakrit language. It is dated in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuva Chāntamūla, though the symbol or symbols indicating the regnal year cannot be read. The exact date is quoted as the tenth day of a certain fortnight of the winter season (*hemanta*).

The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of Kodaraka who is described as *araka-bhadraka* (Sanskrit *araka-bha[ḍ]raka*) and *yati-samaga-khamdhikata* (Sanskrit *yati-śramaga-chandhikṛta*). The first of these epithets may suggest that Kodaraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in which *khamdhikṛta* literally means 'borne on the shoulder', seems to mean that he was highly respected by the *yatis* (Brahmanical ascetics) and *śramagas* (Buddhist monks).

TEXT*

- 1 aka¹-ari-Ehavaia-Chantamulasa [sa]²
- 2 hema diva 10 araka-bhadrakasa
- 3 yati-samaga-khamdhikatasa Koda[rakasa]
- 4 [chhāyā-khambho ||]

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered outside the eastern gate of the citadel in Site No. 35. There are five lines of writing covering an area about 14 inches in height and 14½ inches in breadth.

* Read *śāryyagā śreṣṭhīnagā*.

* Read *śeṣheṣvīnagā* or *śeṣvīnagā*.

* The punctuation is indicated by a slanting curve.

* This punctuation is also indicated by a slanting stroke.

* The punctuation is indicated by two slanting strokes, the tops of which are joined by a curved line. The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭup*.

* From impression.

* The intended word may be *araka* (Sanskrit *araka*). Even if this is accepted, we can scarcely connect this epithet with the name of the Aira family (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 55, note 3).

* Apparently there was here something like *śaka* followed by numerical symbols indicating the year of the date when the inscription was engraved.

The characters are similar to those in the other records edited here; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel *a* and the consonant *j* occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is no date. The language of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word *sīdham* (*siddham*) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-thabha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) of Chantapula of the Kuṣhaka family. It is not impossible that *Chantapula* is just a variant of the name Chāntamūla, while the Kuṣhakas are certainly the same as the Kuṣhakas mentioned in some of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions.¹

Chantapula, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a *Mahā-senāpati*, though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. Three other epithets are also applied to his name, of which *amita-janasa dapa-damana* (Sanskrit *amitra-janasya darpa-damana*), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemyfolk', is easy to understand. The other two are *khamdhāvārāna okhamdhaka* and *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as *skandhāvārānām-avaskandaka* meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies' forces]'. The expression *hathi-gāhaka* (*hasti-grāhaka*) means 'one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests]', while we may also have here *ku-hathi* (a wicked elephant) instead of *hathi*. The expression *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku', or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku', or 'one who captured an elephant named Olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba'.

TEXT*

1. Sīdham [i*] khamdhāvārāna okhamdhakasa amita-
2. janasa dapa-damanasa Olabaku-
3. hathi-gāhakasa mahāsenā-
4. patisa Kuṣhakānasa siri-Chamta-
5. pulasa chhāyā-thabha [i]

B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at Site No. 113. They are referred to in the records as *chhāyā-stambhas* which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as *padita* (= *pātita*) apparently meaning 'killed [in a battle]'. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. The characters of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their language is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons.² Although the word *chhāyā-stambha* suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent

¹ Above, Vol. XX, p. 18 (Inscription No. B 4, line 5), p. 22 (Inscription No. F, line 3).

² From impressions.

³ See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE IV

5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A



Size : One-fourth

B, I



B, II



B, III



Size : One-fourth

all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called **Magalarāṇa** (probably Maṅgalāranya).¹ The location of this place is uncertain; but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of *Rathika* Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalarāṇa. The word *rathika* stands for Sanskrit *rāshṭrika* meaning 'the governor of a *rāshṭra* (i.e. a small territorial unit of a kingdom)'. The *Rāshṭrika* mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT²

- 1 Maga[la]raṇa-vathavaṣa
- 2 rathikasa Bhatasa pā[sa]³
- 3 bhaḍapa[m] padita[na]m chhāyā-tha[bho] [!]⁴

II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a *Senāpati*. The first letter of the name of this *Senāpati* is doubtful. But the name was possibly Rataputa.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Magalarāṇa-va[tha]va[sa] sa[nā]pat[isa]
- 2 [Ra⁶]aputasa pata[tana]m bhaḍana[m] pata⁷
- 3 *[yā]-kha[m]bho [!]⁸

III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadara-kumāra, 'Prince Karadara', who was a *Senāpati* hailing from Magalarāṇa. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalarāṇa.

¹ See above Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

² From impressions. It is A. E. Ep., 1956-57, No. B 34.

³ The intended word seems to be *parādātānam* (Sanskrit *parādātānam*).

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ The intended word seems to be *parādātānam* as in No. I above, though in the other records this word comes before *bhaḍana*.

⁶ The lost *śākhā* is apparently *chāḍ*.

TEXT¹

- 1 [Mava(ga)la]raya-vathava[sa se]nāpati-
- 2 [sa] Karudaru-kumārāsa [pava] . . . hha[ḍa]nam
- 3 paditana[ḍa] chhaya-khaḍbho [ḍ*]

IV

It is a record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a *raṭhika* (*ṛāṭhika*, 'governor of a *cāṭha*') whose name was probably *Haraka*.

TEXT²

- 1 Magalaraya-vathavaa raṭhikasa
- 2 [Harakasa paṇḍatana-patata]-
- 3 na[ni]-ma(bha)ḍa . . .
- 4 chha[ra]-kha(bha) [ḍ*]

C

I

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered at Site No. 52. It is stated in it that the pillar in question was the *cāḍyā-stambha* of a person named Mūlabhūta (or 'bhūti) who was an *āvanika* hailing from Parvāta. The word *āvanika* (*āvanika*) meaning 'the foreman of artisans' occurs in early epigraphs such as the Sāuchi inscription of the Śatavāhana monarch Śātakarṇi and the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Virapurnadhatta.⁴ Mūlabhūta seems to have been an *āvanika* in the service of the Ikshvāku kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet *tamanyakara* applied to Mūlabhūta in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word *cha* to indicate that the pillar was raised for both Tamanyakara and Mūlabhūta.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Pa(va)jyātakasa
- 2 āvanikasa
- 3 Tamanyakarasa
- 4 M[ū]labhūta
- 5 chhāya-cha(bha) [ḍ*]

II

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar bearing sculptured panels, which was found in Site No. 80 in Sector IV. According to the inscription, written in three lines, the pillar was the

¹ From impressions.

² The intended word appears to be *paṇḍita* or *paṇḍitana* as in Nos. I-II above.

³ From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. B 22.

⁴ See Lüders' *Lat.* Nos. 346, 1903-04.

⁵ From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 82.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE V

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

B, IV



Size : One-fourth

C, I



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

C, II



Size : One-third

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

A



Size : One-fourth

chhāyā-stambha of *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātālavara Aryabhūti* (Āryabhūti). An epithet of this person seems to read *Araka-Mahakoṣuvaka*, in which *araka* may stand for Sanskrit *āryaka*. But the meaning of *Koṣuvaka* is uncertain though *Koṣura*, to which the word *mahat* (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

TEXT

- 1 . . .² mahāse[nāpa]tisa mahātala³
- 2 [Araka⁴-Ma]ha-Koṣuvakasa Aya[bhūti]sa
- 3 chhaya-khabho |

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

A

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more *akṣaras*, about 12 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The characters of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in *verse*. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in *Pañcha-chāmara* or *Tūpaka* and the second and third are in the *Vaṁśastha* metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions.⁵ The extant part of our epigraph does not contain any date. It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda, which are generally Brahmanical, belong to the post-Virapurushadatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit is a **Buddhist record**.

The purport of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 8 in line 1 mentions the principal cooks engaged in some establishment, while the second quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a *maṇḍapa* having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the *maṇḍapa* is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a *śāstra* or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (*dṛṣṭi-ātman*) and self-subdued (*jīti-ātman*) probably as one who maintained the *maṇḍapa* attached to the religious establishment in question.

¹ From impressions. It is A. K. Ep., 1938-39, No. B 33.

² The damaged word here may be *śiṣyam*.

³ The lost *akṣaras* are no doubt *varas*.

⁴ Better read *Arakasa* separately from the compound.

⁵ Cf. CII, Vol. III, p. 6, Plate I.

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Handwritten text or a small label, possibly a name or a description.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or a date.

4
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE VI

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

B, I



Size : One-third

B, II



Size : One-third

B, III



Size : One-half

which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit *Rājamalla*) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like *prājyuti* changed in Pali to *pāchehi*.

I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (*paḍima*=Sanskrit *pratimā*) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Koḍabudhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

TEXT¹

1 rikasa² Koḍabudhisa bhariyāya [Makā³]lāya....

2 .. *ti[ṭhāv]itam paḍima [i*]

II

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the *akṣaras* [ṭi]ṭhāvita (i.e. *paṭithāvita*, 'set up') is stated to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word *saha* indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others.⁴ The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna (Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna) within Viḥayapura, no doubt the same as Vijayapura or Vijayapuri, the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Śeṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) of two other Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was probably a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a *śreṣṭhin* or banker. Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Ikshvāku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

TEXT⁵

..... saha Viḥayapure Mahārāja-vaḍhamāne bha[ṭṣ]⁶.....

..... [ṭi]ṭhāvita⁷

III

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a *kumāra* (prince) called Vira-Aribha...., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince's name reminds us of that of Virapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family. The absence of *saṁdhi* joining *vira* and *ari* in the

¹ From impressions. This is *A.N.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 77.

² The intended word was something like *aḍḍurika* (i.e. belonging to the city of Vijayapuri) or *pāṇḍurika* (Sanskrit *prāndrīka*) which is found in some early inscriptions (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 66 (No. II, 97). A *prāndrīka* was probably the maker of *prāndras*, i.e. cloaks used by monks.

³ The last *akṣara* is no doubt *ya* so that the intended word is *paṭiṭhāvita*.

⁴ It is also not altogether impossible that the pious deed referred to was performed along with some other pious deeds.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ The intended word may be *śaṭṭarika* (Sanskrit *ṣaṭṭarika*).

⁷ The word is apparently *paṭiṭhāvita*.

name of the prince makes it clear that *vīra* was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Virapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and *vīra* is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.¹

TEXT²

Si(dha)ṃ [] kumarasa Vira-Ar(ihha).....

IV

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads ... [Virap]urushadatta sa ..., the last *ākṣaya* being apparently the beginning of the word *śvaśchhara*. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. The second fragment reads *bhaga(va)* (Sanskrit *bhagavat*) which either formed part of a passage like *namo bhagacaturā* at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: *śamudā* and *maṇḍa(śa)*. The letters *śamudā* remind us of the female name Samudāsiri (Samudrasī) known from another Nāgārjunikonda inscription edited above (IA, line 1)), while *maṇḍaśa* may stand for Sanskrit *Mukundasya*, *Makunda* being a well-known personal name.

GLOSSARY³

a-karamā (IB, 1.8) = Skt. *a-karṣati*, ' [one] not having done [the work] '.

ākṣaya-ni(nī)vi (XXXIV, 19, 1.10). See *ākṣaya-nīvi*, etc.

ākṣaya-nīvi (XXXIV, 210, 1.6), *ākṣaya-nīvi* (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), *ākṣaya-nīvi* (IB, 1.4) = Skt. *ākṣaya-nīvi* or *nīvi*, ' a permanent endowment '.

ākṣaya-nīvikā (XXXIV, 210, 1.3) = Skt. *ākṣaya-nīvikā*. Same as *ākṣaya-nīvi*, etc.

agnihotra-vājapeya-āśvamedha-yājī (IA, 1.4) = Skt. *agnihotra-agnishōma-vājapeya-āśvamedha-yājī*, ' performer of the *Agnihotra*, *Vājapeya* and *Āśvamedha* sacrifices ', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

agnishōma-vājapeya-āśvamedha-bahusamarāka-yājī (XXXIV, 19, ll. 2-3), ' performer of the *Agnishōma*, *Vājapeya*, *Āśvamedha* and *Bahusamarāka* sacrifices ', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

¹ Cf. *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 22, note 1. Cf. Purushadatta of the Mathura coins and the choja brothers Rājendra and Virarājendra.

² From impressions.

³ Each of Vogel's two big articles on the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions, published above, Vols. XX (pp. 1-36; cf. p. 37) and XXI (pp. 61-71) contains a Glossary which has been considered very useful by students of Indian epigraphy. The reference to the line of the inscription in which a word occurs has been indicated in our Glossary prepared more or less on the same lines. Since, for unavoidable reasons, it was not possible for us to arrange for the publication of all the recently discovered Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions together in a single paper, we considered it wise to include in the present Glossary words occurring in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions published recently in the pages of this journal, e.g. Vol. XXIX, pp. 137-39; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-49, pp. 247-59; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17-22, pp. 197-204, pp. 298-12. Two Ikshvāku inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikonda (one at Gurrāla and the other at Uppagundur) and published above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 123-25, and Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91, respectively, have also been taken into account for this purpose. In these cases, the number of the volume and page, where the epigraphic texts in question have been printed, have been indicated.

Achāntarāj-āchāriya (XXXIV, 211, ll. 5-6)=Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher of the Achāntarāja School.'

aṣṭama (XXXIV, 22, l. 8, etc.)=Skt. *aṣṭama*, 'eighth'.

Aṣṭikī (XXXIII, 149, l. 4), personal name of a *Senāpati*.

atāṭheya (XXXIV, 210, l. 8)=Skt. *ātāṭheya*, 'hospitable'.

atibhakti (XXXIII, 149, l. 3), 'intense devotion.'

atepura-mahatarikā (1B, l. 3)=Skt. *antahpura-mahattarikā*, 'a female officer in charge of the harem'.

Anatasiri (1A, l. 6)=Skt. *Anantāsiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

aneka-hiraya-koṭi-padāyi (1A, l. 1, etc.)=Skt. *aneka-hiranya-koṭi-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins]', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

aneka-hiranna-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-padāyi (XXXIV, 22, ll. 1-2)=Skt. *aneka-hiranya-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-pradāyin*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

annaka (XXXIII, 191, l. 5, etc.)=*annaka*, a suffix often added to the names of males.

annikā (XXXIII, 191, l. 6, etc.)=*annikā*, a suffix often added to the names of females.

apana (XXVI, 125), *apana* (1B, l. 2, 2A, l. 14), *apana* (2B, l. 14)=Skt. *ātmanā*, 'of one's own'.

apanā (1B, l. 8)=Skt. *ātmanā*, 'by oneself'.

Aparamahāvīrasaṅgha (2A, l. 5; 2B, l. 7; XXXIV, 210, l. 5), name of a community of Buddhist monks.

abhatarikā (1A, l. 12)=Skt. *ābhyantrikā*, 'an intimate female friend', i.e. 'a concubine', or 'the female guard of the harem'.

Amātya (XXXIV, 203, l. 6), official designation of a minister or administrative officer, applied to Tishyaśarman. Sometimes, *amātya* is explained as *deś-ādī-kārya-nirvāhaka* while *mantrin* is interpreted as *vyavahāra-draśṭrī* (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, p. 121).

amita-janasa-dapa-damanasa (6A, ll. 1-2)=Skt. *amitra-janasya darpa-damanasya*, 'of one who has subdued the pride of the enemyfolk', used in the description of *Mahāsenāpati Chāntamūla*.

Ayakoṣasiri (1A, l. 9), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Ayabhūti (6C III, l. 2)=Skt. *Āryabhūti*, personal name of a male.

Ayasiri (1A, l. 12)=Skt. *Āryasiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*(= *śrī*) suffixed to it.

āyu-radhanika (1B, l. 2; XXVI, 125—wrongly read)=Skt. *āyur-raddhanika*, 'giving long life'. Same as *āyu-radhanika*.

araka (6C II, l. 2)=Skt. *āryaka*, honorific prefixed to the name of *Mahāsenāpati Mahātalaṭara Ayabhūti* (Āryabhūti) hailing from Maha-Koḍuva (the big Koḍuva). Cf. 5, l. 1, where the same honorific is possibly prefixed to the name of the Ikshvāku king Eḥuvula Chāntamūla.

araka-bhaṭaraka (5, l. 2)=Skt. *āryaka-bhaṭṭāraka*, probably the epithet of a religious personage.

ariya-vamsa-pureṇi-dhara (XXXIII, 250, l. 2)=Skt. *ārya-vamśa-praveṇi-dhara*, 'one who known the traditions of the [four] classes of [Buddhist] recluses by heart'.

ariya-saṅgha (2A, l. 7; 2B, l. 9)=Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

a-vīdhavī (XXIX, 139) 'a lady whose husband is living'.

Aśṭam(śh(abhu)janyāmin (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), name of a deity identified with Vishnu.

Asamedha-yājī (1A, 1.1; 1B, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; 4; XXXIV, 22, 1.1)—Skt. *Asamedha-yājī*, 'performer of the Asvamedha sacrifice', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

ahan (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'a day'.

āchārya (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)—Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher'.

Ābhira (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), name of a people.

āyu-vadhanika (2A, 1.13; B, 1.13). See *āyu-vadhanika*.

Āvantaśa (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), correctly *Āvantiśa*, 'resident of Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayini)', epithet of Śaka Rudradāman.

āvesanika (6C I, 1.2)—Skt. *āvesanika*, 'a foreman of artisans'.

Ikshvāku (4; XXXIV, 19, 11.4, 5, 8), name of the family of king Ikshvāku.

Ikshākumār (1A, 1.2; 3, 1.4; XXXIII, 191, 1.2), *Ikshākūmār* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)—Skt. *Ikshākūmār*, 'of the Ikshvākus (i.e. of those belonging to the Ikshvāku family)'.

Ikshākusa (3, 1.1)—Skt. *Ikshākūṣa*, 'of one belonging to the Ikshvāku dynasty'.

Irusaka (†) (4), name of a family.

Īśvaradatta (4), personal name of a male.

Īśvarabhartṛiśā (4), correctly *bhartṛā*, *bhartṛiśā*, 'together with Īśvarabhartṛi or Īśvarabhartṛi'.

Ukaśaya (7A, 1.1), probably *Uk-āśaya*, 'in what is called Uka'.

Uta(ṭṭa)ra-mahātalaṭara-bhāgineyī (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'a daughter of the sister of Mahātalaṭara Uttara', epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla.

upāsaka (2A, 1.12; 2B, 1.12), 'a lay follower of the Buddha'.

ullekha (XXXIV, 203, 1.6)—Skt. *ullekha*, 'engraver'.

ekkāra (XXXIV, 22, 1.7)—Skt. *ekādaśa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'eleventh'.

Elī-Ehavuladāsamūśa (3, 11.6-7), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince, in which *mūśa* is a suffix.

Elīśī (XXXIII, 149, 1.6), personal name of a Talavara with the honorific *śī* suffixed to it.

evam (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), 'thus'.

esā (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), 'this'.

Ehavula-Chāntamūla (5, 1.1; XXIX, 139), *Chāntamūla* (XXXIV, 19, 11.2, 6-7; XXXIV, 22, 1.4), *Chāntamūla* (4), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Ehavulaśī (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), personal name of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śī* suffixed to it.

Ehavula-Chāntamūla (2B, 1.5); *Chāntamūla* (3, 1.2). Same as *Ehavula-Chāntamūla*.

Khuvula-Chāntamūla (2A, 1.3). Same as *Ehavula-Chāntamūla*.

ekhandhaka (6A, 1.1)—Skt. *avasthānaka*, 'one who subdues'.

Olakakuthi-gāhaka (6A, 11.2-3)—Skt. *hasti-grāhaka* or *Kuhasti-grāhaka*, epithet of Mahāśaṅkapaṇi Chaditapūja.

Kukolurā (XXXIV, 210, L4), probably the name of a village.

Kamhacharūdra (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

Kamhaphala (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

katavām (IB, L8)=Skt. *kartavyam*, 'has to be done'.

katāṇu (IB, L4)=Skt. *kṛtvā*, 'having done'.

Kanhasirī (IA, L12)=Skt. *Kṛishṇasrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Karadaru-kumāra (6B III, L2), 'Karadaru, the prince', name of a prince (*kumāra*).

karayimī(tu) (IB, L8)=Skt. *kārayeyuḥ*, 'should be caused to be done'.

Kasmira (XXXIII, 250, L1)=Skt. *Kāśmīra*, modern Kashmir.

Kāmasirī (IA, L9)=Skt. *Kāmasrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. The reading may also be *Rāmasirī*=Skt. *Rāmasrī*.

kārāpitā (2A, L16)=Skt. *kāritā*, 'caused [something] to be done'.

Kārttikeya (XXXIII, 149, L5), name of a god.

Kupasaśrī (XXXIV, 19, L8), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

Kumara (7B III)=Skt. *Kumāra*, title of a prince.

Kumāra (3, L6; 6B III, L2). See *Kumara*.

Kumāra (XXXIII, 149, L3), a name of the god Kārttikeya.

kulaputa (XXXIV, 209, II, L1)=Skt. *kulaputra*, 'born in a noble family'.

kula-prasūta (4), 'horn in the family [of]'.

kulika-pramukha (XXXIV, 210, L7)=Skt. *kulika-pramukha*, 'headed by the chief of the guild', probably the epithet of a guild.

Kurumalatā (IA, L13), personal name of a female.

Kuśahaka (6A, L4), name of a family.

Koṭṭabudhī (7 BI, L1), personal name of a male.

Koṭṭaraka (5, L3), personal name of a male.

Koṭṭavaka (6C II, L2). See *Maha-Koṭṭavaka*.

Kondamatisirī (IA, L8)=Skt. *Kondamatisrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Kauśika-sagotra (XXXIV, 202, L2) 'one belonging to the Kauśika gotra', epithet of Śivaśeṣa.

Kharidurulū (XXIX, 139), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

Khaṇḍasirī (IA, L10)=Skt. *Skandāsīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. See *Khaṇḍasirī*.

Khaṇḍakotiśirī (IA, L8)=Skt. *Skandakotiśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sirī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Khaṇḍasirī (IA, L7)=Skt. *Skandāsīrī*. See *Khaṇḍasirī*.

Khaṇḍahāla (XXXIV, 19, 17), probably Skt. *Skandahāla*, personal name of a *Mahātala*vara.

khundhāvāra (6A, 11) = Skt. *skandhāvāra*, 'a camp'.

khāṇḍhikata (5, 13) = Skt. *skandhikṛita*, 'borne on the shoulder', i.e. 'highly honoured'.

Khalisiri (1A, 110), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

khāṇita (XXXIV, 203, 14) = Skt. *khāṇita*, 'caused to be excavated'.

khetā (XXVI, 125) = Skt. *khetra* 'a plot of land'.

khyāta-kirtti (XXXIII, 149, 14), 'one who has acquired wide renown', epithet of *Senāpati* Apikki.

Gandhāra (XXXIII, 250, 11) = *Gandhāra*, the region about the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of West Pakistan.

gahapati (XXXIII, 191, 14) = Skt. *grihapati*, 'a householder'.

Gāṇḍī-putra (XXXIII, 149, 15), 'the son of Gāṇḍī', epithet of Ellārī.

gāma-pa[chaka] (XXXIV, 210, 13) = Skt. *grāma-pāṇchaka*, 'a group of five villages'.

gi (XXVI, 125), Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season (Chaitra-badi 1 to Āshāḍha-audi 15)', *grishma* being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *varshā* and *hemanta*.

gi-pa (XXXIV, 19, 12), abbreviation of Pkt. *gimha-pakha* = Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season'.

gimha-pakha (2A, 14; 2B, 11.5-6; XXXIII, 191, 13; XXXIV, 211, 13) = Skt. *grishma-paksha*. See *gi-pa*.

gimhaṇam (3, 13) = Skt. *grishmaṇya*, 'of the summer season'.

guṇa (XXXIV, 203, 15), 'quality'.

Golasiri (1A, 19) = Skt. *Golaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

go-vṛāta (XXXIV, 203, 16), 'a herd of cattle'.

go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-praddāta (XXXIV, 19, 13), 'one who distributed lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (i.e. plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

chayā-śakti (XXXIII, 149, 13), 'one wielding the terrible spear', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

Chaturvīda (4), correctly *chaturvīda*, 'twentyfourth'.

Chadasiri (2A-B, 112) = Skt. *Chandraśrī*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Chandayula (6A, 11.4-5), personal name of a male. Cf. *Chāntamūla*.

Chāntamūla (1A, 12, etc.; XXXIV, 19, 14; XXXIV, 22, 12) = *Chāntamūla*, correctly *Śāntamūla*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Chandamāka (XXXIII, 191, 17—incompletely read), personal name of a male, the real name being *Chanda* (Skt. *Chandra*) and *māka* a suffix.

chavutka (2A, 14), *chavutā* (2B, 16) = Skt. *chaturtha* (4), 'fourth'.

chitana (1B, 18) = Skt. *chitraṇa*, 'decoration, embellishment'.

chitāpita (XXXIV, 203, 1.4)=Skt. *chitrīta*, 'caused [something] to be decorated'.

Chula-Dharmagiri (XXXIV, 211, 1.5)=Skt. *Kshudra-Dharmagiri*, 'the little Dharmagiri', name of a hill in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area.

chhaya-khabha (6B IV, 1.4; 6C II, 1.3), *chhaya-khambha* (6B III, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 11.8-9), *chhāya-khabha* (5, 1.4), *chhāya-khambha* (6B II, 1.3)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha* (really *chhāyā-skambha*), 'a memorial pillar bearing the figure of the person or persons in whose memory it is raised'.

chhāya-thabha (6A, 1.5; 6C I, 1.5), *chhāya-thambha* (3, 1.7), *chhāyā-thabha* (1A, 1.13, etc.; 6B I, 1.3), *chhāy[ā]-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.5), *chhāyam(yā)-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, I, 1.1)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha*. See *chhaya-khabha*, etc.

jivaputā (XXIX, 139)=Skt. *jīvaputrā*, 'a lady with her son or sons living (or, all of whose children are living)'.

taḍḍa (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), 'a tank'.

Tamasiyakura (6C I, 1.3), probably the name of a family or a person.

Tambapanni-dīpa (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Skt. *Tāmaparni-dīpa*, modern Ceylon.

tala-vaṇa (XXXIV, 203, 1.4)=Skt. *tāla-vaṇa* or *tala-vaṇa*, 'a grove of palmyra trees'.

talavara-vara (XXXIII, 149, 1.5), 'a prominent *Talavara*', epithet of Ellārī. See *Mahātālavara*.

Tishyasamāna (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), correctly 'farman, personal name of an *Amātya*'.

tethika (XXXIV, 210, No. 3, 1.1)=Skt. *tairthika*, 'an adherent of a religious faith other than one's own'. Cf. *para-samāya* in *sakasamāya-parasamāya*.

terasama (3, 1.2)=Skt. *trayodaśa*, 'thirteenth'.

thala (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *sthala*, probably used in the sense of a place of worship in the form of a *reḍikā* surrounded by an enclosure (*JBRs*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 47).

thāpita (3, 1.7)=Skt. *sthāpita*, 'set up'.

Thera (2B, 1.10)=Skt. *Sthavira*, 'an Elder among the Buddhist monks'.

Theriya (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)=Skt. *Sthavirīya*, 'belonging to the Thera (Skt. *Sthavira*, i.e. *Sthaviravāda*) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

ḍata (XXXIV, 210, 1.3)=Skt. *datṭa* (XXXIV, 20, 1.11), 'given'.

dupa-damana (6A, 1.2)=Skt. *darpa-damana*, 'a subduer of the pride [of]'.

ḍasa (1B, 1.4-5)=Skt. *daśa*, 'ten'.

ḍināri (1B, 1.4-5), name of a coin.

ḍiva (1B, 1.2; 5, 1.2 XXVI, 125; XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of *ḍivasa*, 'a day'.

divaḍha (XXXIV, 210, 1.6)=Pali *divaḍḍha*, *diviḍḍha*, Skt. *divyadha*, 'one and a half'.

ḍivasa (1A, 1.3; 2A, 1.4; 2B, 1.6; 3, 1.3; 4; XXXIII 191, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.8; XXXIV, 202, 1.2; 211, 1.2), 'the day [of the fortnight]'.

diṇāra-māsaka (XXXIV, 210, 1.6)=Skt. *maśaka*, name of a coin elsewhere called *diṇāri-māsaka* (above, Vol. XX, p. 19).

deya-dharma (4), 'a religious gift'.

deva (XXXIII, 149, 1.3), 'a god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.

devakula (1B, 1.4; XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'a shrine'.

deva-parama-deva (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), 'the supreme god among gods', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

dauhitri (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'granddaughter (daughter's daughter)'.

Dharmakakṣa-pathava (XXXIII, 191, 1.3)=Skt. *Dharmakakṣa-pāṭava*, 'an inhabitant of Dharmakakṣa (old name of modern Dharapikṣa near Amarāvati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh)'.

Dhamanikā (XXXIII, 191, 1.8), personal name of a female, the real name being *Dhamā* (Skt. *Dharmā*) and *anikā* a suffix.

Dhamasamaka (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.3)=Skt. *Dharmasamaka*, personal name of a nobleman.

Dharmavāṇi[ya]kiriya* (XXXIII, 191, 1.5)=Skt. *Dharma-vāṇīkīrīyā*, 'of Dharma-vāṇīkī'.

dharmma-phala (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'resulting from the piety [of]'.

dhvaja-stambha(bha) (XXXIV, 19, 1.10), 'flag-staff'.

natuka (XXXIII, 191, 1.4)=Skt. *napitka*, 'grandson (son's son)'.

Nadisiṇi (1A, 1.11)=Skt. *Nadisiṇi* or *Nandisiṇi*, personal name of a lady, with honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

naptri (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), 'a granddaughter (son's daughter)'.

navanaga-Saṅkha-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-vimrāda (XXXIII, 250, 1.2)=Skt. *navanaga-Sāstṛi-śāsan-ārtha-vyañjana-viniśchaya-vimrāda*, 'one who is an expert in the determination of the meaning and implication of the ninefold teachings of the Sāstṛi (i. e. the Buddha)', epithet of certain Buddhist monks.

Nāgavasusiri (1A, 1.7)=Skt. *Nāgavasusiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. Cf. the female name *Shandavasu* in an Ajaṇṭā inscription (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 262, text line 1).

Nāgasammanikā (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), personal name of a female, the real name being *Nāgasamā* (Skt. *Nāgasarmā*) and *anikā* a suffix.

Nāgasiri (1A, 1.9)=Skt. *Nāgasiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Nāgasiri (2A, 1.12; B, 1.12)=Skt. *Nāgasiri*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Nāgilaṇaka (XXXIII, 191, 1.5, 8), personal name of the brother and of a son of Saṅghila, in which *anaka* is a suffix.

Nārāyaṇa (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), a name of the god Viṣṇu.

naigama (1B, 1.8)=Skt. *naigama*, 'administrative board pertaining to a city'.

niṣṭhāveti (2A, 1.8-9; 2B, 1.10)=Skt. *niśāhāpayati*, 'completes'.

nīpatīṭhapita (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. *nīpratīṣṭhāpita*, same as *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

nīmitta (2A, l.15; 2B, l.15), 'cause' or 'on account of'.

nīrvāṇa (4). See *nīraṇa*, etc.

nīraṇa (2B, l.10); *nīraṇa* (2A, l.8)=Skt. *nīrvāṇa* (4), the Buddhist word for 'salvation'.

nīvāṇa (7A, l.5), 'founded, made'. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 10.

Nelāchavasa (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

naika-hiranya-koṭi-pradātā (XXXIV, 19, l.3), 'one who distributed many crores of gold [coins]', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[*Noḷagī*]*śivasāmi* (1B, ll.1, 4)=Skt. *śīvarasāmi*, name of a deity, with the word *śāmi* suffixed to it.

Nodukasiri (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *śrīṣ* (for *śrīgā*), personal name probably of a female. Note the nominative case used for instrumental. There are other cases of this type in the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions. Cf. *Chāṭisiri*.....*khaṇḍham patīṭhapitam* (above, Vol. XX, p. 16, C3, lines 10-12; cf. p. 19, B 5, line 4; C2, lines 6-8; etc.).

pa (1B, l.2), abbreviation of *pakha*=Skt. *pakṣa*, 'a fortnight'.

pakha (3, l.3). See *pa*.

pañchama (3, l.3), *pañchama* (4), 'fifth'.

paṭana (XXXIII, 191, l.10)=Skt. *paṭana*, 'township'.

paḍi(dī)ta (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *paḍita*.

paḍima (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratimā*, 'an image'.

paḍhama (XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

Paṇḍitasiri (1A, l.11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

patata (6B II, l.2; 6B IV, l.2)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *paḍita*.

patīṭhavita (7B II), *patīṭhāvita* (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

patiya (XXIX, 139)=Pkt. *patiyā*=Skt. *patnyā*, 'by [one's] wife'. See *patī*.

patī (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *patnī*. See *patiya*.

pathama (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

paṭarasa (2B, l.6)=Skt. *pañchadaśa*, 'fifteenth'.

paḍiṭhapeti (2A, l.8)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpayaṭi*, 'sets up'.

paḍita (6B I, l.3; 6B III, l.3)=Skt. *pāṭita*, 'killed [in battle]'. See *paḍi(dī)ta*, *patata*.

panika-sami (1B, l.5)=Skt. *pāṇika-śreṣṭhi*, 'the guild of the dealers in leaves (i.e. betel leaves)'.

Paraḍika (1B, l.8), personal name of a male.

para-samaya (XXXIV, 211, l.6). See *sakarāmayā-parasamaya*.

parityaj; cf. *prāṇa[m-a*]pi na pari[tya*]kṣh[ya*]jati* (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'would not spare even one's life.'

pariveṣa (4), 'a Buddhist monk's private chamber in a monastery'. See *Mahādevi-pariveṣa*.

Paravāṭaka (6C I, l.1), probably 'a resident of Pavayāta'.

pasadata (6B IV, l.2), *pasādita* (6B I, l.2; 6B II, l.2; 6B III, l.2)=Skt. *prasādita*, 'favoured'.

pasādaka (XXXIII, 230, 11)=Skt. *prasadaka*, literally 'one who causes serenity or happiness [in the minds of the people]', figuratively 'one who converts [people] to the Buddhist faith'.

pasunhā (XXXIV, 22, 13)=Skt. *prasnushā*, 'daughter-in-law's daughter-in-law', i. e. 'grandson's wife'.

pāchaka (7A, 11), 'a cook'.

pāda-saṅghāṭā (XXXIII, 230, 13)=Skt. *pāda-saṅghāṭa*, 'a pair of feet', i. e. 'foot-prints'.

piya-bhātuka (2A-B, 113)=Skt. *piya-bhātr[īka]*, 'dear brother'.

Pudokeḍa (XXXIV, 19, 110), name of a village.

puta (1A, 12, etc.)=Skt. *putra*, 'a son'.

putra (XXXIV, 19, 11, 6, 8), 'a son'.

Purḍa-puruṣa (XXXIV, 202, 11), 'the primeval male', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.

puva-disā-bhūge (XXXIV, 211, 11.4-5)=Skt. *pūrva-disā-bhūge*, 'in the eastern direction [of]', 'to the east [of]'.

purika-soni (1B, 15)=Pali *pūrika-seṇi*, Skt. *pūpika-seṇi*, 'a guild of confectioners'.

Pushpabhadraśāmin (XXXIV, 19, 11.1, 10), name of a deity (otherwise called Mahādeva), with the word *śāmin* suffixed to it.

Pushyakāṁḍiya (XXXIV, 19, 16), probably a mistake for *Pushyakāṁḍiya*, name of a family.

Peraṭisiri (1A, 110), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Peramaṣi-bhaṇa (XXXIV, 209, 1, 11; 11, 14)=Skt. *peramaṣi*, 'a soldier fighting under [the command of a general named] Peramaṣi'.

Peribhāṇa (XXXIV, 202, 12), name of a family or clan.

pautra (XXXIII, 149, 14; XXXIV, 19, 15), 'grandson (son's son)'.

pratimā (4), 'an image'.

pratishṭhāpita (4; XXXIV, 19, 110), 'set up'.

prathama (1A, 13), 'first'.

prapautra (XXXIV, 19, 14), 'great-grandson (son of one's son's son)'.

prabhu (XXXIII, 149, 11), 'the master', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla. Cf. *sāmi* and *śāmin*.

prākūra (XXXIV, 203, 14), 'a wall'.

prāsāda (XXXIII, 149, 15), 'a temple'.

Baraṣaṭṭikya (4), probably 'a resident of Baraṣaka'.

Brahmaphala-sagotā (XXXIV, 22, 11.6-7)=Skt. *Brahmaphala-sagotā*, 'a lady belonging to the Brahmaphala gotra', epithet of Varmahatā who was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

Bāpūsi (1A, 111), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

bālaka (XXXIII, 191, 17), 'a son'.

bālikā (XXXIII, 191, 18—wrongly read), 'a daughter'.

bīṭiya (1A, L3; XXXIV, 211, L3)=Skt. *dvītiya*, 'second'.

Buddha (4), the great founder of Buddhism.

Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaracāra-gīrivara-nigamāvāra-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka (2A, ll. 9-11); **gīrivara-naigamavara-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka* (2B, ll. 10-12)=Skt. *Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaracāra-gīrivara-nigamāvāra-bahu-deyadhama-kāraka*, 'one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honour of the Buddhist Trinity, viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha', epithet of a pious man named Chandraśrī (Chandraśrī).

Buddhānukā (XXXIII, 191, L6), personal name of a female, in which the suffix *ānukā* is added to the name *Buddhā* (Skt. *Buddhā*).

Bodhisrī (1A, L10)=Skt. *Bodhisrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *srī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Bhagaphula (1B, L7), personal name of a male.

bhaga[ra] (7B IV)=Skt. *bhagavat*, 'the lord', probably the epithet of a deity. See *bhagavat*.

bhagavacch-śhaktiā (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'by dint of divine power'.

bhagavat, epithet of divinities, (XXXIV, 203, L3), of the god Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin; (XXXIV, 202, L1), of the god Nārāyaṇa; (1B, ll. 1, 4), of the god [Noḍḍi]śvaraśvāmin; (XXXIV, 19, ll. 1, 10), of the god Puṣṭipabbhadrāśvāmin; (4; XXXIII, 191, L1; 230, L3) of the Buddha; (XXVI, 125), of the god Halaśrīpūrasvāmin. See *bhagava*.

Bhagavatā (1B, L3)=Skt. *Bhāgavatā* or *Bhagavatī*, personal name of a lady.

bhagini (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhagini*, 'sister' (correctly *bhaginīnam*=Skt. *bhaginībhyām*).

bha[ra] (7B II), probably=Skt. *bhaṭṭāraka*.

bhaḍa (6B I, L3; 6B II, L2, 6B III, L2, 6B IV, L4)=Skt. *bhaṭa*, 'a soldier'.

Bhata (6B I, L2)=Skt. *Bhakta*, personal name of a male.

Bhadaphula (XXXIV, 210, L2), probably the personal name of a male.

Bharadvāja-ayotva (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'one belonging to the Bharadvāja gotra', epithet of *Amātya* Tishyasarman.

bhara-sala (2A, L8), probably a mistake for *bhaṭṭāraka-sālā*=Skt. *bhāṭṭāraka-sālā*, 'store-room'.

bharyake (2A, L15), *bharyako* (2B, L15), probably=Skt. *bhāryaka*; but the meaning of the damaged passage is doubtful.

bharyā (7B I, L1; XXXIII, 191, ll. 6, 7)=Skt. *bhāryā*, 'wife'.

bharyyāya (4), correctly *bhāryayā*, 'together with one's wife'.

bhāgineyī (XXXIV, 19, L7), 'one's sister's daughter'.

bhātuno (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhrātuh*, 'of one's brother'.

bhātu-bharyā (XXXIII, 191, ll. 6-7)=Skt. *bhrātri-bhāryā*, 'one's brother's wife'.

bhāmjitava (XXXIV, 210, L3)=Skt. *bhaktavya*, 'to be enjoyed'.

bho (XXXIV, 20, L12), probably an abbreviation of *bhogika* or *bhojaka*, possibly meaning 'an *ānāmdār*'.

[*Makāf*]lā (7B, I, L1), personal name of a female.

Makula (7B IV), probably=Skt. *Mukunda*, personal name of a male.

Maṅgalaraṇya-rathava (6B I, 1.1; 6B II, 1.1; 6B III, 1.1; 6B IV, 1.1; XXXIV, 209, II, 1.1) = Skt. *Maṅgalāraṇya-cāstava*, 'a resident of Maṅgalāraṇya'.

Matṅguri (1A, 1.8), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. *maṇḍapa* (7A, 1.2), probably 'a hall'.

matā-pita (2A-B, 1.14) = Skt. *mātā-pitrī*, 'parents'.

matāya (XXXIII, 191, 1.5) = Skt. *mātūḥ*, 'of [one's] mother'.

matāhi (1A, 1.6) = Skt. *mātṛibhiḥ*, 'by [one's] mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers)'. Cf. *mātāya*.

Muduviri (1A, 1.9) = Skt. *Mṛiduvīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

[*Me?*] *rabāya* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), probably = Skt. *Marabāyām*, Maraba being the name of a family. *masanumasika* (1B, 1.4) = Skt. *māsānumāsika*, 'acruing month by month'.

Maha-Koṣuvaka (6C II, 1.2), literally 'resident of the bigger Koṣuva', the place probably being the home of a *Mahāsenāpati-Mahātalarava*.

Mahatarikā (1B, 1.3) = Skt. *Mahattarikā*, feminine form of *Mahattaraka*. See *Aṭṭapara-mahattarikā*.

mahadevīhi (1A, 1.6) = Skt. *mahādevībhiḥ*, 'by one's queens', used in respect of the queens of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla. See *Mahādevī*.

Maharaja-vaṣṭhamāna (7B II) = Skt. *Mahārāja-vaṣṭhamāna*, a religious establishment maintained by a king. Cf. *Seṭṭhivara-vaṣṭhamāna*.

Mahavalabhikā (3, 1.5), epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, referring to the locality (*Mahāvalabhī*) whence she hailed.

Mahāvinaseliya (2B, II, 7-8). See *Aparamahāvinaseliya*.

Mahākhatapa-dhūtāya (XXXIV, 22, 1.5) = Skt. *Mahākhatrapa-duhitā*, 'of the daughter of the *Mahākhatrapa*', used in relation to a queen of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

Mahāgrāma (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'the ruler of a *Mahāgrāma* (group of villages, a district)' or 'an inhabitant of a locality called *Mahāgrāma*', epithet of *Mahātalarava Mahādeṇḍamūyāḍa* Śivasēpa.

Mahātalarava, official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of *Mahāsenāpati* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti); (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), of Uta(ṭṭa)ra; (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), of Kharidāhāla and of Skandagopa; (XXXIV, 202, 1.2) of Śivasēpa; etc. In this designation, *talavara* means *tuchā-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita-rājasthāniya* (i.e. a viceroy or subordinate ruler) according to Vinayaviṇaya's *Subodhikā* commentary on the *Kalpavṛkṣa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1), though *talāra*, no doubt the same as *talavara*, is explained in Hemachandra's *Doṣanāmamālā* (V, 3), as *nagara-rakṣaka* while *talāri*, another modification of the same word, is described as a *koṭwāl* (i.e. prefect of the police of a town) in the *Āṇandachakras* and other works (*Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 127 ff.). The word is found in Telugu-Kannada as *talāri* and in Tamil as *talaiyāri*, 'the village workman, one of the subordinate officers of a village' (Wilson's Glossary).

Mahādeṇḍamūyāḍa (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'a chief leader of forces', official designation of a military officer often employed as the governor of a district or province.

Mahādeva (XXXIV, 19, 1.1), same as the god Śiva.

Mahādevī, title applied to the queens of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 19, II, 8-9), to Kupapaśri; (XXIX, 139), to Kharidāhāla; (XXXIV, 22, 1.6), to Vāṇmabhaṭṭa. See *Mahādevī*.

Mahādevī-parīṣeṣa (4), 'the private chamber of a Buddhist monk, which has been built by a queen'
Mahānamā (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a well.

mahā-nigāya (2A, 1.6, 2B, 1.8)=Skt. *mahā-nikāya*, probably the dwelling of Buddhist monks of a particular community.

Mahārāja, royal title applied to the Ikshvāku kings often also called *Rājan*; (4; XXIX, 139; XXXIV, 19, 1.1, 5, 9; 22, 1.4), to Ehuṣula-Chāntamūla; (1A, 1.1; B, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; XXXIV, 22, 1.1), to Chāntamūla; (XXVI, 125), to Ruṣapurushadatta (Rudrapurushadatta); (2B, 1.3; XXXIII, 191, 1.2; XXXIV, 19, 1.4; 22, 1.3), to Virapurushadatta.

Mahārājakumāra (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), designation of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta, son of king Ehuṣula-Chāntamūla.

Mahāvihāra-vāsin (XXXIII, 250, 1.2), 'a dweller in the Mahāvihāra [at ancient Vijayapura in the Nāgarjunikonda valley]'; explained by some as the name of a community of Ceylonese monks.

Mahāsenapati, *Mahāsenāpati*, 'a chief commander of the forces', official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of Ayabhuṭi (Āryabhūti); (3, 1.6), of the Ikshvāku prince Eli-Ehāvula-dāsatnaka; (6A, 1.3-4), of Chaitapaṇa of the Kuṣāhaka family; (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta.

Mahisaravīri (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mahisārāṣṭrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

mahisī (3, 1.5)=Skt. *mahishī* (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), 'queen'.

Māgha (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), name of the eleventh lunar month.

Māṭhari-putra (XXXIV, 19, 1.4), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Māṭhara gotra', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.

Māṭhari-pūta (1A, 1.2), *Māṭhari-pūta* (3, 1.4), *Māṭhari-putra* (XXXIII, 191, 1.2)=Skt. *Māṭhari-putra*, q. v.

mātūya (XXXIV, 22, 1.6)=Skt. *mātūḥ*, 'of [one's] mother (i.e. step-mother)'. Cf. *matūhi*.

Mūtasīri (1A, 1.7)=Skt. *Mūtasīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

mukhya-pāchaka (7A, 1.1), 'the chief cook'.

Muḍarā (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a locality.

**Mūlasīri* (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mūlasīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Mūlabhuta (6C I, 1.4)=Skt. *mūḍa* or *mūḍi*, personal name of an *ācārya*.

Yakṣīnīkā (3, 1.5), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, in which *nīkā* (*annikā*) is a suffix.

yati-saṃaya-khamadhikata (5, 1.3)=Skt. *yati-saṃaya-ekandhikata*, 'highly honoured by the Brāhmaṇical ascetics and Buddhist monks', epithet of a religious personage.

Yavana (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), probably the ancient Greek settlement in the Kābul valley in Afghanistan.

Yorājībhī (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), probably a mistake for *Yonarājabhī*=Skt. *Yavana-rājāḥ*, 'by the Yavans (i.e. Greek) rulers'.

rañño (1A, 1.2, etc.), *rañño* (2A, 1.2; 3, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *rājāḥ* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'the king's'. See *Rājan*.

[*Rat*]*aputa* (5B II, 1.2), personal name of a male.

Rāṣhika (5B I, 1.2; 5B IV, 1.1)=Skt. *Rāṣṭrika*, probably 'the governor of a territorial unit called *rāṣṭra*'.

Ratavasa (1B, 1.3)=Skt. *Ratavāsā* or *Rativāsā*, personal name of a female.

Rājan, royal title; (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), of the Ābhira king Vasushena; (XXXIV, 19, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 10, 1.7, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 1.5-6), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta; (1A, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. Cf. *Mahārāja*.

Rājamisiri-kutaka (XXXIV, 209, 1.2), name of a family.

Rāmavīri. See *Kūmasvīri*.

Rāmavya=*eva sarva-jan-ābhīrāmavya* (XXXIV, 19, 1.5) 'of one who is loved by all people like Rāma', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

ruja (XXXIV, 203, 1.5)=Skt. *ruja*, '[one who is] straightforward'.

Rudrapurushadatta (XXXIV, 22, 1.5-6)=Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.

Rudradāmas (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), personal name of a Śaka resident of Avanti.

ruṃḥaru-bhava (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), probably=Skt. *udumbara-bhava*, 'born (i.e. made out) of *udumbara* wood', epithet of the god Aṣṭakhaṇḍasvāmin.

Rudrapurushadatta (XXVI, 125—wrongly read), the same as Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.

ropita (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'caused to be planted'.

raja-nyāsana-prema-nishtha (XXXIV, 203, 1.5-6), 'one who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees'.

raḍhamāna (2A, 1.6; 2B, 1.8; 7B II)=Skt. *śardhamāna*, a kind of religious establishment.

radhi (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *aridhi*, 'interest'.

Ranavāsi (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), the district round modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. See *Vānavāsika*.

Ramubhātā (XXXIV, 22, 1.7)=Skt. *Ramubhātā*, personal name of a lady who was a daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

Rudhamānasa (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), personal name of a male.

varsha (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'year'.

varsha-paksha (1), 'a fortnight of the rainy season', the rainy season (Śrāvana-badī 1 to Kārttika-sudi 15) being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India and the two others being *grishma* and *hemanta*.

varsa-puta (1A, 1.3)=Skt. *varsha-puta*, literally 'one hundred years', used in the sense of 'long life'.

Vasīṭhi-puta (1B, 1.2)=Skt. *Vasīṭhi-putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Vasīṭha-gotra*', metonymic of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla. See *Vasīṭhi-puta*, etc.

Vasushena (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), personal name of an Ābhira king.

Vānavāsika (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), 'resident of Vānavāsi (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore)', epithet of Vishnubrahmalāpanda-Sātakarṇi. See *Vānavāsi*.

vā-pā (XXXIV, 202, l.1), abbreviation of Pkt. *vāsa-pākha*=*vāsa-pakkha*=Skt. *varsha-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vāsa-pakha*, *varsha-paksha*.

vāpi (XXXIV, 203, l.4), 'a well'.

vāsa-pakha (1A, l.3), *vāśā-pakha* (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *varsha* or *varshā-pakha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vā-pā*.

Vāsiṭhi-puta, *Vāsiṭhi-putta*, *Vāsiṭhi-putra*, *Vāsiṭhi-putra*, *Vāsethi-putra*, *Vāse(s)hi-putra*=Skt. *Vāsiṭhi-putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Vāsiṭhi* gotra', metronymic of several rulers; (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the Ābhira king Vāsudeva; (2B, l.4; XXXIV, 19, l.1), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuṇḍa-Chāntamūla; (1A, l.5; XXXIV, 19, l.2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, l.5), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta. See *Vasīṭhi-puta*.

vigata-jñe-ālaya (7A, l.4), probably 'the abode of recluses' or 'temple of the Recluse (Buddha)'.

Vijayapura (7B, II)=Skt. *Vijayapura*, q.v.

Vijaya (1A, l.3; 1B, l.2), name of a year of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, which was the first year of the cycle originally.

Vijayapura (2A, l.5; 2B, l.7), *Vijayapuri* (4; XXXIV, 211, l.4), name of the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgarjunikonda valley.

vijaya-vijayika (XXXIV, 19, l.9), better *vajaya-vijayika*, 'yielding victory after victory'.

Vijñābodhisiri (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Vindhyabodhidri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

vipul-ārttha-kāṅkṣin (7A, l.5), 'one who wishes for great welfare of all the beings', or 'one who wants salvation'.

Vibhajjavāda (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Pali *Vibhajjavāda*, Skt. *Vibhajjavāda* or *Vibhajjavādā*, 'belonging to the Vibhajjavāda (Vibhajjavādā) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

Vira-Arīṭha (7B, III), partially preserved name of a prince. Cf. the name *Virapurushadatta*.

Virapurisadatta (1B, l.2), *Virapurisadatta* (7B, IV), *Virapurisadatta* (2A, l.1), *Virapurisadatta* (XXXIII, 191, l.2; XXXIV, 22, l.3), *Virapurisadatta* (2B, II, 3-4)=Skt. *Virapurushadatta* (really *Vira-Purushadatta*), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

Vishvavardhana-līlānanda-Sātatarupī (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a resident of Vanavāsa.

viṭāra (XXXIII, 250, l.3; XXXIV, 211, l.5), 'a Buddhist monastery'.

viṭāra-bāhā (7A, l.5), 'the wing of a [Buddhist] monastery'.

viṭāra-mukhya (7A, l.4), 'the principal monastery'.

Virapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.4). See *Virapurisadatta*, etc.

Virapurushadatta (XXXIV, 19, l.9), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince who was a son of king Ehuṇḍa-Chāntamūla, and grandson of king Virapurushadatta.

vajayika (1B, l.2)=Skt. *vajayika*, 'yielding victory'.

Vaira-vāṇija-puta (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *Vaira-vāṇija-putra*, 'son of Vaira, the merchant', epithet of Saṅghila II, grandson of Saṅghila I.

Vairasirinaka (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a male, the name being *Vairasiri* (Skt. *Vairasiri*), with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it, and also *naka* (*śrinaka*), a suffix.

Śaka (XXXIV, 203, l.3), name of a people.

satru-gaṇa-śamardina (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'one who has subdued the hosts of one's enemies', epithet of an engraver.

Śivasoba (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), correctly *Śivasopa*, personal name of a male. Cf. the name *Sunahāpa* or *Sunahāpha*.

śukla-pakṣa (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'bright fortnight'.

śailamāyī (4), 'made of stone'.

śrī (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), honorific suffixed to the name of Bhavala, i.e. the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula Chāntamūla. Cf. *śrī*.

Śrīparvata (4), ancient name of the Nallamalai range.

śreṣṭhāyī (4), correctly *śreṣṭhīyā*, 'together with the [śreṣṭhī] wife'.

saṃva (XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of *saṃvachhara* = Skt. *saṃvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

saṃvachhara (XXXIII, 191, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.7; XXXIV, 211, 1.2) = Skt. *saṃvatsara* (4; XXXIV, 202, 1.3), 'the [regnal] year'. See *saṃvachhara*.

sakasamaya-parasamaya (XXXIV, 211, 1.6) = Skt. *sakasamaya-parasamaya*, 'one's own doctrine and other rival doctrines', not the Jain *su-samaya* and *para-samaya* explained in Kundakūṇḍīśākhya's *Samayasūtra* as respectively 'the soul which is consecrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed' and 'the soul which stands in the condition determined by Karma and is absorbed in non-self' (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 272).

saga-gata (1A, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.8) = Skt. *svarga-gata*, 'one who has gone to heaven (i.e. died)'.

Sagara-Dilīpa-Āmbarīśa-Yudhishṭhira-tulya-dharmma-vijaya (XXXIV, 19, 1.5), 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagarā, Dilīpa, Āmbarīśa and Yudhishṭhira', epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.

saṅgā (XXXIV, 22, 1.6-7) = Skt. *saṅgā*. See *Bahupāla-saṅgā*.

Samghaniḥā (XXXIII, 191, 1.7), personal name of a female, the real name being *Samghā* and *aniḥā* (*aniḥā*) a suffix.

Samghā (XXXIII, 191, 1.4), personal name of a householder as well as of his grandson (son's son).

Sanjayapurīca (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'resident of Sanjayapura (probably modern Sanjān in the Thana District of Bombay)'.

Saṭhapa (1B, 1.8; XXXIV, 210, 1.2), personal name of males. Cf. the name *Saṭhagopa* popular in the Tamil-speaking area.

saṭa (XXVI, 123), mistake for *sara*, Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *saṃvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.

saṭa (XXXIV, 210, 1.6) = Skt. *śata*, 'a hundred'.

saṭama (3, 1.3) = Skt. *saṭama*, 'seventh'.

Satīśāśrī (1A, 1.10) = Skt. *Satīśāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

satya-vrata (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'one who has taken a vow of truthfulness'.

sa-sāṃ-mita-bāndha[ya] (XXXIII, 191, 1.9) = Skt. *sa-jñātī-mitra-bāndhaca*, 'together with one's kinsmen, friends and relations'.

Samagundaka-vāṭhava (XXXIV, 210, 1.2) = Skt. *vāṭhava*, 'resident of [a locality called] Samagundaka'.

saṃvra-vijaya (XXXIII, 149, 1.4), 'victor in (or, by means of) battles', epithet of *Samāyati Aṅki*.

Samudā (7B IV) = Skt. *Samudā*, probably a personal name.

Samudāniḥā (XXXIII, 191, 1.6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Samudā* (Skt. *Samudā*) and *niḥā* a suffix.

Samudāśrī (1A, 1.11) = Skt. *Samudāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Samusiri (1A, 17), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it; possibly a mistake for *Samudasiri*=Skt. *Samudraśrī*.

sampadata (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *sampradatto*, 'given'.

Saṃmāsambuddha (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *Samyaksambuddha*, 'the perfectly enlightened one', i.e. the Buddha.

Samyaksambuddha (4), epithet of the Buddha.

Sarasikā (1A, l. 13), personal name of a female.

sarva-guṇa-pārami(m)-prāpta (4), 'one who attained perfection in all the [good] qualities', epithet of the Buddha.

Sarvadev-ādhipāya (XXXIII, 149, l. 6), 'abode of the god Sarva (i.e. Śiva)', epithet of the *prāsāda* (temple) built by Talavara Ellāri.

Sarva-sattu-ottama (4), 'the best among all beings', epithet of the Buddha.

savachhara (1A, l. 3; 2A, l. 3; 7B IV; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2)=Skt. *saṃvatsara*, 'the year'. See *saṃvachhara*.

sarvathēsa apatikhata-saṃkhyasa (1A, l. 5)=Skt. *sarvathēsa apatikhata-saṃkhyasa*, 'of one whose will was unchecked in all matters', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

sarva-loka-mahita (1B, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-loka-mahita*, 'honoured by the whole world (or, all people)', epithet of the god Nāgaśarasāmi (=Nāgarasvāmin).

sarva-sattvārā (XXXIII, 250, l. 3)=Skt. *sarva-sattvārā*, 'of all the beings'.

sarva-sut-ottama (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-sutt-ottama*, 'best among all the beings', epithet of the Samyaksambuddha (i.e. the Buddha).

sakamati (1B, l. 3), literally 'one who has the same mind or thought as another', i.e. 'an associate'.

sahodarāhī (1A, l. 6)=Skt. *sahodaribhī*, 'by [one's] sisters'.

Sāgarasnikā (XXXIII, 191, l. 6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Sāgarā* and *anikā* a suffix.

Sāṃkaryā (XXXIV, 203, l. 3). See *Viśvayudraśivalānanda-Sāṃkaryā*.

sāmi=Skt. *sāmīn*, a royal title of foreign origin later adopted by some indigenous Indian kings including the Ikshvākus; (3, l. 1), title of the Ikshvāku king Ehuva Chāntamūla. See *sāmīn*.

sāmi (1B, ll. 1, 4; XXVI, 125)=Skt. *sāmīn*, suffixed to the name of a god. See *sāmīn*.

sālā (2A, l. 15; 2B, l. 10)=Skt. *sālā*, probably 'a hall'.

siri=Skt. *śrī*, honorific prefixed to the names of many persons, especially rulers; (1B, l. 2; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2; 4; 5, l. 1, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuva-Chāntamūla; (6A, ll. 4-5), of *Mahā-sāpātī* Chantapula; (1A, l. 2 etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (1A-B, l. 3; 2A, l. 1; 2B, ll. 3-4; 3, l. 4), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurnashadatta.

siri (2A, l. 12; 2B, l. 12)=*śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of males. Cf. *Ehuvasiri* and *śrī*.

śrī (1A, ll. 6-12)=Skt. *śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of ladies.

Siripavata (2B, l. 6; XXXIV, 211, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Śrīpavata*, ancient name of the Nallamalai range.

Sivānāgasiri (1A, ll. 11-12)=Skt. *Śivanāgari*, personal name of a lady with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

Sisaba (XXXIV, 209, ll. 3-4), personal name of a soldier.

sukh-athana (2B, l. 17), *sukh-athanā* (2A, l. 17)=Skt. *sukh-āthana*, 'a prayer for the happiness [of]'. See *hita-sukh-athanāya*.

sunā (XXXIV, 22, l. 4)=Skt. *sunā*, 'daughter-in-law'.

- supayuta* (XXXIV, 210, 1, 7) = Skt. *suprayukta*, 'well-fixed (i.e. well-deposited [in a guild])'.
- teṣṭhi-pamāṭha* (1B, 1, 7) = Skt. *teṣṭhi-pramāṭha*, 'a guild headed by the banker'.
- teṣṭhi-bālikā* (1B, 1, 3) = Skt. *teṣṭhi-bālikā*, 'daughter of a banker'.
- Seṭhivara-vardhamāna* (2A, 1, 6, 2B, 1, 8) = Skt. *śreṣṭhivara-vardhamāna*, a religious institution maintained by a banker. Cf. *Maharaja-vardhamāna*.
- Seta-giri* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 4) = *Seta-giri*, name of a hill bordering the Nāgarjunikonda valley, mentioned as Seta-giri in a Nāsik inscription (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 197) in the description of the Bātavāhana king Gautamiputra Śīlākarni.
- Seṇapati*, 'a leader of forces', official designation of several persons; (XXXIII, 149, 1, 4), of Apikki; (6B III, 1, 1), of Kamdara-śumāra; (6B II, 1, 1), of Rataputa.
- seṇā* (1B, 1, 5) = Skt. *śreṇī*, *śreṇī*, 'a guild'.
- Sembaka-Vardhamāna* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 6), 'Vardhamāna belonging to the Sembaka family or clan'.
- seṇyathā* (1B, 1, 3) = Pali *seyyathā*, Skt. *śat* = *yathā*, 'namely'.
- śila-maṇḍapa* (2A, II, 7-8; 2B, II, 9-10) = Skt. *śila-maṇḍapa*, 'a stone-built hall'.
- Seṇamāyagurukā* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 7), probably a person named *Māyūraka* of the *Seṇa* family.
- śukhita* (XXXIV, 203, 1, 4) = Skt. *śukhita*, 'cleansed (i.e. renovated)'.
- Śkandagopa* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 6) = *Śkandagopa*, personal name of a *Mahātalanara*.
- stambha* (7A, 1, 2; XXXIV, 19, 1, 10), correctly *stambha*, 'a pillar'.
- Syandaka-parvata* (4), name of a hill.
- Syandaka-parvata-śreṣṭhī* (4), 'a banker residing at [a place at the foot of] the Syandaka-parvata'.
- śra-virya-ūrjita-vijaya-kīrti* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 4), 'one who achieved fame for victories obtained by his own prowess', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- śāmin*, royal title of foreign origin, adopted by indigenous Indian rulers; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 4), of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla (XXXIV, 22, 1, 2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 1, 3), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurnahadatta. See *śāmi*.
- śāmin* (XXXIV, 19, II, 1, 10), suffixed to the name of the god Puṣhpabhadra otherwise called Mahādeva. See *śāmi*.
- Haraka* (6B IV, 1, 2), personal name of a male.
- Haladīpurāṇī* (XXVI, 120) = Skt. *śāmin*, name of a deity.
- Hārīti-patra* (XXXIV, 19, 1, 8), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Hārīti gotra', metonymy of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurnahadatta, son of Khuvula-Chāntamūla.
- hita-sukh-arthamaya* (XXXIII, 220, 1, 3) = Skt. *hita-sukh-arthamaya*, 'with a prayer for the welfare and happiness [of]'.
- hiranya-koti-go-sahasra-hala-śatambara-pudgī* (1A, II, 4-5) = Skt. *hiranya-koti-go-sahasra-hala-śatambara-pudgī*, 'one who bestowed crowns of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of plough-measures of land', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- Hulasa-hemaya* (XXXIII, 149, 1, 3), 'son of the fire god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.
- Āśvina* (5, 1, 2), abbreviation of *hemanā*, 'the winter season (Mārgaśīrṣa-tūdi 1 to Phālguna-sudi 15)', one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *grīṣma* and *varṣā*.

No. 2—KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

(1 Plate)

SERINIVAS RAO I, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.4.1967)

In the course of my epigraphical survey of the Lingugur Taluk in the Raichur District, Mysore, in September 1959, I visited a village named Kilaratti. The inscription¹ edited here was discovered in that village. The stone bearing the inscription is now fixed into the ceiling of the Hanuman temple outside the village. The record is engraved in twenty lines and covers a space about 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth. The stone is split in the middle; but fortunately no letters are lost. The first three lines of the inscription are, however, difficult to copy owing to the presence of a big stone beam.

The characters of the epigraph are Kannada and its language is Kannada prose, except a verse in Sanskrit in lines 18-19. As regards palaeography, three different forms of the medial *u* sign are worth noticing; cf. *u* in **dindāntamira* (line 8), *u* in *nelavāṇaṇa* (line 9) and *u* in *gavāṇaṇa* (line 15). The *e* sign has sometimes a peculiar form; cf. *te* and *le* in **kōṇaṇa nelavāṇaṇa* (line 9). The letter *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a loop in the left arm of *p*; cf. *phalam=akku* (line 17). As regards orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of certain consonant following *r*.

The date of the record is Śaka 968, Vyaya, Pushya ba. 2, Wednesday, Uttariyasa, Makara-sankranti. The details regularly correspond to December 24, 1045 A.D.

The epigraph begins with the usual praśasti of the Western Chalukya kings and refers itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla. Next is introduced the king's younger brother Samantakamalla Kumāra Jayasimha as administering the Kuttambitti-agrahaṇa of Bannigola, situated in the division of Karaḍikāl-300, from his headquarters at the fort of Pannāle. The purpose of the record is to register a grant of five maṇḍas of black-soil and five maṇḍas of red-soil land to the god Bhūgeśvara. The grant was entrusted to Dēvasiṅga-bhaṇḍāra. This portion is followed by imprecatory passages in Kannada and Sanskrit. The last line states that the record was written by Śaṅkha Bannanayya.

The inscription introduces to us the Chalukya prince Jayasimha who is described as the *prīy-āṇa* (the beloved younger brother) of the ruling king Trailōkyamalla who is none else than Somaśvara I, the son of Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha II, since the date of the record, viz. 1045 A.D. falls in the reign of Somaśvara I Ahavamalla.

No inscription of a brother of Somaśvara I was so long known.² That, however, Somaśvara I had a younger brother is hinted at in a newly discovered inscription from Vēra³ in the Deglur

¹ It is registered as No. B 494 of A. R. Ep., 1959-60.

² Somaśvara I is known to have had two sisters, viz. Hammā or Aravallāḍī married to the Śrīvijaya prince Bhūṭama III (Budd. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, chart facing p. 428), and Somaśāḍī (Hpt. Arch. Surv., No. 18, Inscription No. 21).

³ This inscription was copied in October 1962 by my colleague Mr. G. Bhattacharya. It is registered as No. B 218 of A. R. Ep., 1962-63.

KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968



Size : One-fifth

TEXT¹

- 1²
 2[Chālukya-ābha]rapam śrīma[*]-Trai[lokyamalladēvara vija]ya]-
 3 [rā]jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi(vṛddhi)-pravarddhamā[na]m=āchamdrārka-tāramharam sa-
 4 luttamire [[*] Te[*]-priy-ānu]am svasti-śrīmat-Samarākamalladēva-nām-ā-
 5 di-samasta-prasa(sa)sti-sahitā śrīmat-Kumārān Jāyasīngha-
 6 dēvar Karādikal-mūnūgar-olagana kuttumbitti-agra-
 7 hāram Bannigoḷanam tribhōg-ābhyantara-su(s)iddhiyā dūṣṭa-ni-
 8 graha-viś(ā)hṭa-pratipā[anadūṣṭa-ā]uttamire Pannāleyada kō-
 9 ṭeya nālevidino[lu Svasti Sa(Sa)ka-nṛpa-kālātita-sariva-
 10 tsara-śatamga[*] 968 neya Vyaya-sarivatsaram pravarttise tad-varah-ābhyam-³
 11 tarada Pushya bahuja 9 Budhavaradam-Uttarāyana-Makha(ka)-
 12 ra-samkrānti-nūnittadiṁ Dēvasīnghabhajāra[r*]gge dhārā-pūrvvakam geydu
 13 Bhōgōva(śva)radāva[r*]gge ūrinda mūḍana dōṁkivoladalli biṭṭa kariya
 14 nelah matṭa* 5 kisa-kāḍu matṭa* 5 aṁṭa matṭaru 10 [[*] Idha*
 15 Ūroḍeyar-aivarum purassaharāgi dhammamam pratipā[isuvuru [*] I(I)dan-ā-
 16 r-ōrvvaru pratipā[isidargge Bāparāsiyo[=sāsira kavileyam brāhma-
 17 garggam tapōdhanarggam koṭṭa phalam=akku [*] Idan-a[idargge(gge) kavileyum brāhma-
 18 garum tapōdhanan* a]ida pañcha-mahā-pātakana(v-a)kku || Sva-dattam(titān)
 paradattam(titān) vā
 19 yō harēta vasudhārā[m [*] āśāstir-vvarān-sahasrāpi mi(vi)hṭā(ahṭā)yām jāyati kri-
 [miḥ ||]
 20 Baredam Sēnabōvam Bammaṣya ||⁴

¹ From impressions.² This portion has been covered by the stone beam on which the inscribed slab rests.³ The anupura is a little towards the letter reā.⁴ Matṭa stands for Mattar.⁵ Read idha.⁶ Read Vārasāsi (Sanskrit Vārāṇasī).⁷ Read kavileyumam Brāhmanarumam tapōdhanarumam.⁸ This line is engraved in smaller characters.

✓ No. 3—FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20.4.1960)

The Amarāvati (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, were generally assigned to c. second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Mudakataṭa, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that 'though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the great *Chaitya* (i.e. the one at Amarāvati) dates originally from perhaps about 200 B.C.' A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amarāvati along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the pages of this journal, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them: 'all the signs from the ancient Brāhmī epigraphs from Amarāvati agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.'¹ Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amarāvati and these are being noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on the side face of a sand stone slab apparently cut out from an inscribed pillar of the Aśokan type probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati. This inscription is edited in the following lines.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of letters are apparently lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The Brāhmī characters and Prakrit language, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, especially the Rock Edicts at Girnar. As regards palaeography, it may be observed that the letter *r* is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of *ba* is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The orthography of the inscription is characterised by the use of both *r* and *l*. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.). If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

¹ Macron over *c* and *o* has not been used in this paper.

² Op. cit., p. 260.

It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of miles away.¹ Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Topra in the Punjab and Meerut in U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Sultan Firuz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Sirā.² The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amaravati, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.³

In the first line of the inscription, we can read *para(r)ta(tro) abh(i)* which is followed by a damaged *s* so that the second word may be *abhisita*. Both these words, viz. *paratra*, 'in the future world', and *abhisita* (Sanskrit *abhisikṣita*, 'awakened'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a fullstop between them. The most important linguistic and palaeographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word *paratra* in which *tra* appears to be written as *ra*. Both these features are found in the language and palaeography of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed elsewhere.⁴

The second line reads [*dha*] *kho kṛhite* [*ma*] in which *dha* seems to be the second letter of *idha* so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit *idha khalu likhitaṁ mayā*, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e. rocks and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word *kha* (Sanskrit *khalu*) is quite common in Aśoka's records,⁵ but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word *idha* occurs several times in the Girnar Rock Edicts (e.g. I, line 2; VI, line 12; XIII, lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has *jano bahuni*, 'the people . . . many . . .', and both the words *jano* and *bahu* are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. occurs in Girnar, VII, line 2; IX, lines 1 and 2; X, line 1; XIII, line 5; XIV, line 4; and also in Shahbazgarhi VII, line 3; IX, line 18; XIII, line 6. The other word appears in the forms *bahuni* and *bahūni* in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has *amucryante* as followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as [*me*]. This would stand in Sanskrit as *amudrchanti tat mayā*, '[They] regret. Therefore . . . by me.' The verb *amucry* may also stand for Sanskrit *anūśre*, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, *amucryante tat mayā* would mean '[The texts] are, therefore, heard

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1922, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places: (1) Delhi (originally from Topra in the Ambala District, East Punjab), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kocam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Raebareilly (Lauriya Araraj), Mathis (Lauriya Narandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rampurva, all three in the Champarn District, North Bihar; (7-8) Humnabad and Nigaulagar in the Nepalesa Taluk, (9) Sarnath near Banars, U.P., and (10) Sanchi near Bilas, M.P.

² Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 350.

³ Mr. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs us that the pillar is of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallamalai range and not Chunar sandstone.

⁴ See *pāruṣī(ta)kāya* in Girnar, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as *pālāṣīkāya* (Dhauli, Jaogada and Erragudi), *pālāṣīkāya* (Kāṣī) and *parāṣīkāya* (Shahbazgarhi and Nasik).
⁵ Cf. Girnar, IX, lines 2 and 7; X, line 4; Kāṣī, IX, line 23; X, line 25; XIII, line 14; Shahbazgarhi, VI, line 16; IX, line 18; X, line 22; XIII, line 11; Nasik, VII, line 32; IX, lines 3 and 4; X, line 11; Dhauli, IX, line 3; Jaogada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5; Pillar Edicts (Topra), I, line 5; III, line 19; VII, line 30; Sarnath, line 2; Calcutta-Bairat, line 2; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4; Siddhapura, lines 3, 6 and 9; Jaljaga Ramevara, line 4.

by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the *dharma paripāṭas* enumerated in the Calcutta Bairat Minor Rock Edict.¹ This would then show that the inscription under study is almost certainly an Asokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Asokan style, though the word *anugayanti* is not found in the inscriptions of Asoka so far discovered.

Line 5 has *va chhijati vijaye* (Sanskrit *chhidjate vijaye*), in which *chhijati* means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and *vijaye*, 'in conquest', i.e. 'when one gets a victory [in a battle or war]'. The word *vijaye* may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit *vijayaḥ* masc. nom. sing. instead of *mase* loc. sing. This word reminds us of the concluding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Asoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through *Dharma* and wherein the word *vijaya* occurs several times. The word *chhijati*, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Asoka.

The extant *alsharas* of line 6 are [*pi cā*] *mame(ma) pi* (Sanskrit *api cā mama api*, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three *alsharas* may also be read as *su(ḍ)u=api*, 'me too', but this is less likely since, in that sense, *mame pi* would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Asoka (cf. *waṇ* for Sanskrit *vān* in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like *pi tato* probably standing for Sanskrit *api tatra*, 'too ... there'.

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription closely resembles that of the Girnar version of Asoka's Rock Edicts. In this connection, we may note the retention of *va* in *para(va)tra* without changing it to *ta* and the form *jama* in *mase* nom. sing. *Vijaye*, whether it is *mase* nom. sing. or *mase* loc. sing., would also suit the Girnar dialect. As regards *me*, the Girnar edicts have both *mame* and *me* as gen. sing. and *maga* as inst. sing., though the Minor Rock Edicts in Mysore have both *maga* and *me* as inst. sing. and *me* also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard *me* in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Asoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Asokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Asoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Asoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Asoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Asoka, that the pillar bore the so-called Mauryan polish and that the record has to be assigned to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that the epigraph belongs to Asoka who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati then seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Asoka about half a century earlier.

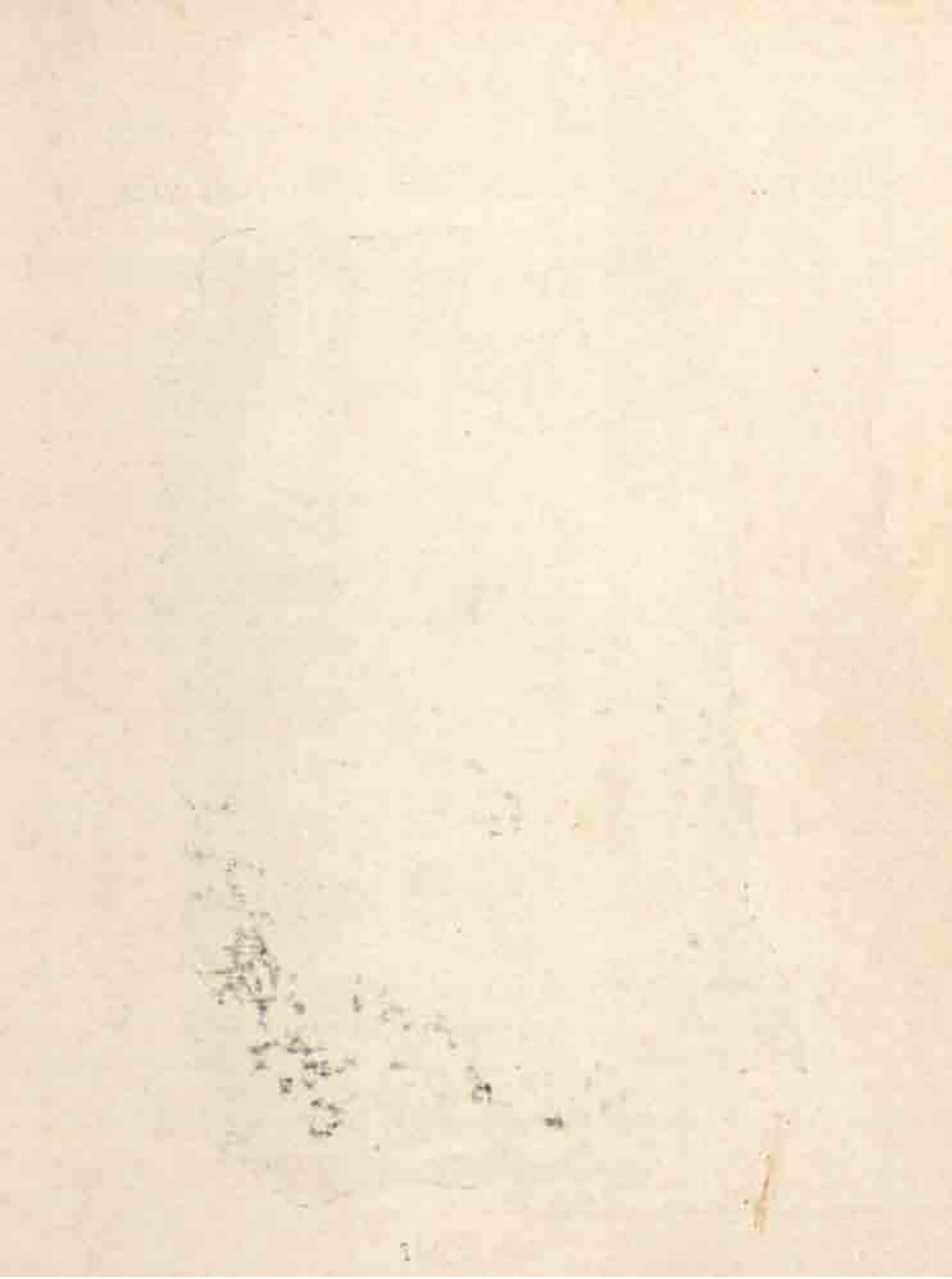
This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eighty-four thousand *Stūpas* throughout his empire.² The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., says that he found a *Stūpa* built by Asoka as far south as Kāśchīpura near Madras.³ Hsuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called T'e-na-ka-che-ka (i.e. Dhānyakataka, i.e. Dharaṇīkoṭa near Amarāvati) or Ta-An-to-lo (i.e. Great Amūlra).⁴ He does not speak of any Asoka *Stūpa* there, though he

¹ *CH*, Vol. I, pp. 172 f.

² Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 172.

³ Watters, *On T'ang Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 216; Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 622. Hsuen-tsang places the *Purva-villa* and *Aprakata* to the east and west of the capital of the country.



FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI



Size : One-half

refers to one Aśoka Stūpa at Ping-k'i-lo (probably Ping-k'i-pu-lo, i.e. Veṅṅipura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Ch'u-li-ya country, i.e. the territory of the Telugu-Cholas.¹ But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a Stūpa built by Aśoka at Dhānyakataka or Amarāvati cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amarāvati Stūpa was built by Aśoka about the middle of the third century B.

TEXT²

- 1 para[r]ta(tra) [i*] abl[isa]*
- 2 [dha]* kha likhite [in]*
- 3 jano* bahūn*
- 4 anusayanti [i*] sa*
- 5 ra chhijiti-vijaye*
- 6 [pi cha] mam[e]* pi
- 7 [pi tata tā]

¹ Ibid., pp. 209, 224. The pilgrim saw an Aśoka Stūpa at the capital of Kalinga, probably at Kalingansagara, modern Mukhalliṅgam near Srikakulam (ibid., p. 198), but may not have visited Siliṅṅṇām, in the Srikakulam District, where also there was probably a Stūpa built by Aśoka according to an early tradition (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).

* From impressions.

* The intended word may be *abhisita*.

* The intended word may be *idha*.

* Above this word, there are traces looking like the *śāśharas vāra*. It is difficult to say whether they were actually inscribed or are mere marks on the stone.

* The *śāśharas* after *vā* is unrecognisable.

* The *śāśharas* following *sa*, which was endowed with an *e-mātrā*, is unrecognisable, but may be *sa*.

* The *śāśharas* following *ya* is unrecognisable.

* Read *mama*. The reading of the last three *śāśharas* may also be *va[d]hāra*; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

No. 4—THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4.1.1960)

1. Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khingāla

In May 1956, the Government of India sent an Archaeological Delegation for exploration in Afghanistan. Cyclostyled copies of the Preliminary Report of the Delegation (with printed Plates), by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, both officers of the Department of Archaeology, were distributed among the members of the Archaeological Advisory Board meeting at New Delhi in September 1956. This Report contains the notice of an interesting inscription.

The members of the Delegation learnt at Kabul that a marble image of Gaṇeśa had been discovered some years ago somewhere at **Gardex** (famous for its fortress called Bala Hissar) about 70 miles to the south of Kabul and that the image was later removed to **Kabul** where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at **Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth** near the Pampur Cinema. At Gardex, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place. The image under worship at Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth measures 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is an inscription in two lines on its base. A photograph of the inscribed image appears in the Report, Plate II, A. Unfortunately the Delegation did not bring any inked impression of the record. The image has also been recently illustrated by Prof. G. Tucci in his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' appearing in the *East and West*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 276-283, figure 40 (at p. 323). The Report of Ramachandran and Sharma contains a Roman transcript (without diacritical marks) and a translation of the epigraph. Tucci also quotes the epigraphic text, as read by him on the basis of a photograph of the image, in footnote 29 (at pp. 327-28) of his article. But neither of the published transcripts of the inscription is free from errors. We edit the epigraph in the following pages from the photograph in the Report of Ramachandran and Sharma.

The characters of the Kabul Gaṇeśa image inscription belong to the North Indian (Siddha-mātpikā) alphabet of the sixth or seventh century A. D. That it is not much later than the middle of the seventh century is clear from the use of the tripartite form of the letter *g*. The latest occurrence of this form of the said letter has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Patialkella plate¹ of Śambhayaśaśa, dated 602 A. D., and the Dahi plates² of Bhāskara-varman (c. 600-50 A. D.), while in the Rajasthan area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate³ of Bhāṭṭi dated in the Haraha year 73 corresponding to 679 A. D. The number 13 has been written in the inscription with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. *shāhi-pādaiḥ* in line 2), the letter *h* looks like *dh*. The language of our record is Sanskrit although there are a few errors of grammar and orthography in the text.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

² Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Plate facing p. 4.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a sentence, at the end of which there is a floral design indicating the completion of the writing. The sentence states that [an image of] Mahā-Vināyaka was installed by *Paramabhaddaraka Mahārājādhirāja Shāhi Khāgāla* on the **thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Jyēsthā in the year 8**, apparently of the Shāhi king's reign, when the constellation was *Viśākha* and the *lagna* *Sirha*. In the passage *saṃtatsurē aśa (ataṃ) aśa 8* in line 1, Ramachandran and Sharma read *mahā* for *saṃ* 8. In the same line, the word *tūhan*, read by them as well as by Tucci, looks on the photograph as *tlau* (which has of course to be corrected to *tūhan*) while the word read as *ri(r)kshē* looks on the photograph as *jī(r)kshē*. The word at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 has been read by Ramachandran and Sharma as *chitra-[ā]ma*, of which Tucci reads only the first *akṣara*. But, in the photograph, the word looks more like *chitra[ka]m*. The passage *idam Mahā-Vināyaka* in line 2 requires to be corrected to *idam Mahā-Vināyaka-bimbam*.

More important than all these is, however, the last passage containing the Shāhi king's name which Ramachandran and Sharma read as **Khāgālaish khyāta-shāhi-padaish* (with the addition of diacritical marks) and Tucci as **Khāgal-ōyāna-shāhi-padoi[k]*. In regard to his reading, Tucci observes, "I am not absolutely sure about the reading *ōyāna*; it could also be *ōdyāna* or *ōyāna* A good rubbing can settle the point. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udyāna, Uddyāna (i. e. the Swat valley)." The name of the king is, however, *Khāgāla* and not *Khāgala*, while the vowel-mark with the letter *l* is clearly *au* and neither *a* as read by Ramachandran and Sharma (who wrongly read a *visarga* after *lai*) nor *ā* as read by Tucci. Outside this passage, the letter *w* occurs only once in *Mahā-Vināyaka* while *l* occurs several times. In *w* in this case, both the left and right lower limbs are shorter than those of *l*. If this is a purposeful distinction made by the engraver, we should better read the two *akṣaras* following *lau* as *tyāta*, though the readings *nyāna*, *nyāta* and *tyāna* cannot be regarded as altogether impossible, since, as indicated above, the distinction between the letters *bh* and *h* is not clearly indicated by the engraver of the record. In any case, the readings *khyāta*, *dyāna* or *ōdyāna* are not supported by the photograph. As regards Tucci's suggestion that the king might have been a Shāhi ruler of Udyāna (*Udyāna-shāhi*), it is doubtful whether the Shāhis of Swat, if any Shāhi house actually ruled there, can be regarded as in occupation of the Gardez region within the dominions of the Shāhis of Kapiśā or Kabul since, in the period in question, the latter were probably the strongest amongst the Shāhi houses, although it may of course be conjectured that the image in question was carried to Gardez from the Swat valley.

In the second quarter of the seventh century A. D., when the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-tsang was passing through Uttarāpatha or the north-western division of Bhāratavarsha, the emperor of Kapiśā which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarahāra (Jallābāḍ), Gandhāra (the Peshawar region)¹ and probably also Jāgudā (Southern Afghanistan with Ghazni as the chief city), had a residence (i. e. a secondary capital) at Udabhaṇḍa or Udabhaṇḍapura (modern Und near Attock).² It appears that under the pressure of the Turks and Chinese from the north and the Arabs from the south and west, the Shāhi kings of Kapiśā left the western provinces of their empire in the hands of viceroys and gradually made Udabhaṇḍa their main seat. This is suggested by the Arabic work *Hududul 'Alam* (982-83 A. D.) and Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (c. 1150 A. D.)³ which mention the said city as the capital of the Shāhi emperors. While Hsuen-tsang mentions Udabhaṇḍa as the residence of the king of Kapiśā about

¹ The Takshashila region about the Rawalpindi District had been formerly subject to Kapiśā but was at Hsuen-tsang's time a dependency of Kashmir (Watters, *Yün Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 240).

² Ray, *DHNS*, Vol. I, pp. 60-61; Seal, *The Life of Hsuen-tsang*, p. 192.

³ Proc. IHC, 1939, p. 670; *Rājatar.*, V, 135.

the middle of the seventh century. Kalhana speaks of it as the capital of the Shāhis since the time of Lalliya Shāhi (c. 575-90 A. D.).¹ He further mentions Lalliya's kingdom as lying between the lands of the Darada (i.e. Dardistan) and the Turushkas (Turks).²

The name of Shāhi Khingūla reminds us of Khinikhila *alias* Narāndrāditya mentioned as an ancient king of Kashmir and as a successor of Mihirakula, apparently the Hōpa king of that name who ruled in c. 510-35 A. D., in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*.³ There are some copper coins with the legend *Khingū*⁴ (the fuller form may have been *Khingūla*) while another coin is known to bear the legend *Dēva-Shāhi-Khingūla*.⁵ It is difficult to say whether Khingūla of our inscription is identical with Khingūla of the coins and Khinikhila of the Kashmir chronicle. His identification with Khinikhila Narāndrāditya would, however, suggest that, at the time of the ruler in question, Kashmir formed a part of the Shāhi empire.

The names of the following Shāhi kings have been recently revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts : (1) Paṭolādēva-shāhi Vajrāditya Nandin ; (2) Śrī-Dēva-Shāhi Surēndravikramāditya Nanda (Nandin) who seems to have had a queen named Śamidēvi Trailōkyadēvi ; and (3) *Shāhā-nushāhi* Paṭōla-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandidēva who had a queen named Anāgadēvi and is apparently identical with *Paramabhūṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramīśvara* Paṭōla-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandidēva claiming descent from the Bhāgadatta family and mentioned in the Hatun inscription.⁶ These Shāhis, who probably ruled about the seventh century A. D., have been supposed to have ruled over the Darad country in the upper valley of the Kishenganga. Their names, in which several names have been clubbed together, are interesting in view of the double name of the king mentioned in our record. Ōtyāla-shāhi seems to be a second name of Shāhi Khingūla and is probably not connected with the territory over which he ruled.

The image of Gaṇēśa, called Mahā-Vināyaka in the inscription, represents the deity as standing in the *ālīṣṭha* pose. His limbs are muscular. The trunk, which was turned to the left, is broken. The tusk, indicated on the left, is also broken. He has a close-fitting coronet on the head and a close-fitting necklace on the neck. The ears look like foliage. There were four hands, all of which are broken. The god has a snake as his *gajā-ōṣaṇṭa* and his under garment is decorated with a lion's or tiger's head and claws apparently to satisfy the prescription that Vināyaka's cloth should be the tiger's skin.⁷ The image is characterised by the god's usual pot-belly (*kumbh-ōḍara*) and also the *ūrdhva-mūḍhra*. It is difficult to say whether the image represents a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇēśa or Vināyaka is a non-Aryan divinity adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon not much earlier than the third or fourth century A. D.⁸ The earliest images of the deity are supposed to be those found in the Sankisa mound (Etah District, U. P.) and Bhūmārā (Satna District, Madhya Pradesh), both of about the fifth century A. D., while its representation on a terracotta bas-relief from Akra (Bannu District, West Pakistan) is also assigned to the same age.⁹ The discovery of the Akra bas-relief and the image bearing the inscription under study points to the popularity of the god in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavārsha not long after he was adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon.

¹ Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 235.

² *Agam*, V, 155.

³ Cf. I, 264 ; Stein's trans., Vol. I, verse 247, note 197.

⁴ Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 265, 267.

⁵ Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1893, pp. 97, 110, Plate VII, No. 11.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 239.

⁷ Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

⁸ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 14, note 7 ; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 206-07.

⁹ A. Getty, *Ganesh*, p. 26.

THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Kabul Inscription of Shani Khingala



(from Photograph)

2. Sitabhinji Inscription of Disabhanja

A



(from Photograph)

B

Eye copy

ଅବି ଲେ ଶ୍ରୀ ଶ୍ରୀ

TEXT¹

- 1 [Siddham]² [||]³ Sa[m]vatsarē-ashtatamē⁴ sam 8 Jyēshtha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tilau(thau) ttrayōdaśyām śu-di 10 3 ji(ri)k(ah)ā Viśākṣa śubhā Sīm[hā] ch[itraka]-⁵
- 2 [m] mahat pratishṭhāpitam-īdath Mahā-Vināyaka⁶ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Shāhi-Khīṅgāl-Autyāta⁷-shāhi-pādai[h]⁸

TRANSLATION

May it be well! In the eighth year—year 8, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyēshtha—bright day 13, in the constellation Viśākṣa (and) the auspicious Sīmha (lagna), this lovely (and) big (image of) Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by⁹ the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Shāhi Khīṅgāla (alias) Ōtyāta-shāhi.

2. Sitābhīṅgi Inscription of Diśābhaṅja

Sometime ago an interesting tempera painting was found in a rock shelter called Rāvana-śhāyā in the village of Sitābhīṅgi in the Keonjhar District of Orissa. It depicts a king on the back of an elephant who is in a procession and is preceded by footmen, a horseman and a dancing woman and followed by a female attendant. There is a painted label in one line giving the name of the king as Diśābhaṅja. This painted record was published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. and Plate, by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who assigns its characters to 'about the 4th century A.D.'¹⁰ While writing on the Bhaṅjas of Khīṅgāl-maṇḍala, we pointed out that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kālīṅga script (an admixture of the Northern and Southern alphabets) generally found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganjam region, which are assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and also raised the question whether Diśābhaṅja of the Sitābhīṅgi inscription could be identified with Diśābhaṅja alias Diśābhaṅja who was a son of Raṅgaḥaṅja ruling over Khīṅgāl-maṇḍala from Dhritipura and flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.¹¹

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed that 'the characters of the short record at Sitābhīṅgi can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kālīṅga who have been unanimously referred to the 5th century A.D.' and that 'Diśābhaṅja of Sitābhīṅgi may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhaṅja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.'¹² In our opinion, however, this view regarding the date of the Sitābhīṅgi

¹ From a photograph.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *astham*.

⁴ The *asthara* *ka* is broken away. The reading of the word as *chitra-varṇam* may not be impossible.

⁵ Read *gaurā-śhāyā*.

⁶ As indicated above, the letters read as *t* may be a also.

⁷ There is a floral design after this.

⁸ Literally, 'by the feet of'. The word *pāda* is used in the original in an honorific sense.

⁹ See also *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 69. For the painting, see Ramachandran's paper in *Artibus Asiae*, No. XIV, 1951, pp. 5-25.

¹⁰ Cf. *IBQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 227-28; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 and note 2.

¹¹ *The Age of Imperial Kancōj*, pp. 72-74.

inscription is based on a misunderstanding on the evidence of its palaeography which is certainly not much earlier than the eighth century A.D. Ramachandran and Majumdar have been apparently influenced by the fact that the letters *j* and *ś* (one of the two types) as used in the record are found in North Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age. But it has unfortunately been overlooked that the same forms of the letters are also noticed in the inscriptions of the Kalinga area, which belong to the 7th century and later. It has also been overlooked that the palaeography of some of the letters and signs used in the record is decidedly later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The inscription reads: *Māhārāja-īri-Diśābhāṣya*. The first word is not *Maḥārāja* as read by Ramachandran. It may be pointed out at the outset that the word *māhārāja* is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *mahārāja*, which is not expected in an inscription of so early a date as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The letter *m* in *mā* is of the Telugu-Kannaḍa type. It has resemblance with the form of the letter sometimes occurring in mid-seventh century records like the Nelkunda grant¹ of Abbina-vāditya and the Amṇālapada plates² of Vikramāditya I. It may also be compared with the form of *m* in Dēvēndravarmā's plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A.D.) and the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta (tenth or eleventh century A.D.).³ The long curve of the *ā-mā* is not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the other hand, it is apparently later than the shorter form of the same sign in the mid-seventh century records referred to above.

The right limb of *ā* in *āś* has a downward knot in the middle, its end being considerably curved below, although the left limb of the letter is straight. This form of the letter is not expected in any epigraph of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. but can be compared with *ā* in **ā-dhara* in line 6, *māhārāja* in line 13 and *māś* in line 33 of the Pattali grant of the year 313 (c. 810 A.D.).⁴ It may also be compared with the early Grantha *ā* as found in the Kuram plates of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 670-700 A.D.) and the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A.D.).⁵

The letter *r* in *rā* has an *u-mā* like curve attached to its lower end, which is not expected in Brāhmī inscriptions since its analogue is noticed only in the Siddhamātrikā stage of the northern alphabet. The lower part of *r* in the Sitābhīṣi epigraph reminds us of the corresponding part of the letter in records like the Morbi plates of 904 A.D.⁶

As regards the English E type of *j*, which is found in early North Indian inscriptions, it has to be noticed that the same form of the letter also occurs in early medieval Southern records like the Andhavarām plates⁷ of the year 316 (c. 713 A.D.), the Russelkonda plates⁸ of Nēttabhāṣya

¹ See above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *paramādharmā* in line 22; also *nāma* in line 12, *māhārāja* in line 20).

² Ibid. Plate between pp. 182 and 183 (cf. *māseṣu* and *māṣi** in line 3, *māṣi** in line 4, *paramādharmā* in line 23, etc.).

³ See Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prākṛita Lipiśilā*, Plate LVII, c; Plate LIX (the third one of the forms).

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pages 204 and 205. Cf. also *ā* in *āś* in line 2 of the Svāpaveśvara grant (ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 126) which is not earlier than the ninth century.

⁵ Ojha, op. cit., Plate III, c; Plate LIII, b. See also *ā* in *māhārāja* in line 12 of the Galavalli Plates of 590 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, Plate opposite p. 190).

⁶ See Ojha, op. cit., Plate XXIV.

⁷ See above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 200 (*janita* in line 6, *jyotāṣa* in line 12 and *jula* in line 21).

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (*jāyāyāmāna* in line 4, *rājopatya* in line 18, etc.).

(eighth or ninth century A.D.), the Pattali grant¹ of c. 810 A.D. and the Kalahandi plates of the year 383 (c. 880 A.D.).² It is also noticed in the Svalpavelura grant³ which is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

The letter *ś* in *śrī* has the peculiar Telugu-Kannada form not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. It resembles the form of the letter as found in the Pattali grant of c. 810 A.D.,⁴ the Galavalli plates of c. 890 A.D.⁵ and the Parlakimedi plates of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.⁶ The same type of *ś* also occurs in many other records such as the Gautami plates⁷ of Indravarman which have been assigned to the eighth century A.D.

D in *dī* is of the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) type endowed with a tail which is not found with the letter before the sixth century A.D. The longish *i-mātrā* found with the letter is also too early for the fourth or fifth century A.D.

ṣ in *ṣā* is found in early North Indian records like the Allahabad pillar inscription⁸ of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.). But it has to be noticed that it is found also in early medieval inscriptions of the east coast such as those of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja (close of the 7th century A.D.),⁹ the Russelkonda plates¹⁰ of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and the Parlakimedi plates¹¹ of the tenth or eleventh century. This form of *ṣ* may also be compared with that of the same letter in the Vishmagiri¹² and Svalpavelura¹³ plates which are not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

Bh is of the wide-top type which is found in early medieval records of the Telugu-Kannada areas like the Kalahandi plates of c. 880 A.D.¹⁴

In the conjunct *ṣj*, the superscript *ṣ*, which is separated from the subscript *j*, is rather unusual. But it is certainly not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. since it is considerably removed from the original form of the letter. However, it reminds us of subscript *ṣ* in the records of the early medieval period such as the Neulpur plate¹⁵ of the close of the ninth century A.D., Madras Museum plates of the tenth century,¹⁶ Baud plates¹⁷ of the year 158 (989 A.D.) and later epigraphs.

I do not think that the Sitābhīṣi inscription can be assigned to a date much earlier than the Russelkonda plates of the eighth or ninth century A.D. King Śiśubhaṇḍa may have been

¹ See *janā-jaya* in line 6 (ibid., Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

² See *rājya* in line 22 (ibid., Plate facing p. 321).

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *jvīṣam* in line 26).

⁴ Cf. *śrī* in line 20, *śrī-cha* in line 23 and *śrī-ś* in line 24 (above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 190 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 2, *yaś* in line 7).

⁶ Cf. *śrī* in line 13 (ibid., Vol. III, Plate facing p. 223).

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 181.

⁸ Ojha, op. cit., Plate XVI.

⁹ See e.g., ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 40 (*Śailōdbhava* in line 5, etc.).

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (cf. *śrī* in line 11, *śrī-cha* in line 15, etc.).

¹¹ Ojha, op. cit., Plate LIX (the second of the three forms).

¹² Above, Vol. XIX, Plate between pp. 136 and 137 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 3).

¹³ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 16).

¹⁴ See above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 321 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 13, etc.).

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. XV, Plate between pp. 4 and 5 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 7).

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 30 and 31 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 20).

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *śrī-cha* in line 26).

connected with this Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa. Whether he was identical with Diśābhaṇḍa, son of Raṇabhaṇḍa of Khinḍjāl-maṇḍala, cannot be determined definitely. But I do not consider it impossible since the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet in which letters could retain their old forms for a longer time.¹

King Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa who issued the Russelkonda plates from Vārāḍḍā (modern Bārāḍā or Bārāḍā near Russelkonda, now called Bhanjanagar, in the Ganjam District) also issued the Baul plates² from Nav-Āṅgulaka-pattana which is the modern Angul in the Dhenkanal District near the District of Keonjhar. Thus the dominions of this Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa of the eighth or ninth century A.D. appear to have comprised the Ganjam area in the south-west and the Dhenkanal-Keonjhar region in the north-east and it is interesting in this connection to note that, in the tenth century A.D., the earlier Bhaṇḍas of Khinḍjāl-maṇḍala also ruled over the same area between the Ganjam and Baul-Keonjhar regions of Orissa.³ It is therefore likely that Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa, who claimed to have belonged to the dynasty of Drumarāja, was an earlier member of the Bhaṇḍa family of Khinḍjāl-maṇḍala. He seems to have flourished after the fall of the Śailōdbhavas in the eighth century and before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur about 831 A.D. His descendants, viz. the Bhaṇḍas of Khinḍjāl-maṇḍala who sometimes used the Bhauma-Kara etc. were apparently feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings. We have elsewhere shown that the early Bhaṇḍas of Khinḍjāl-maṇḍala ruled from Dhitipura in the Baul-Keonjhar region till the time of Raṇabhaṇḍa and that they were driven out of that region by the Sōmavamsi king Yayāti Mahāśrīgupta I (c. 970-1000 A.D.) so that Raṇabhaṇḍa's descendants beginning with his son Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa Kalyāṇakalasa ruled from Vaṇḍulvaka in the Ganjam region.⁴ If Diśābhaṇḍa of the Sitābhūji inscription can be identified with Digbhaṇḍa-Diśābhaṇḍa who was another son of Raṇabhaṇḍa, he was probably the elder brother of Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa Kalyāṇakalasa and the last Bhaṇḍa ruler of Dhitipura. It has, however, to be pointed out that, among the records of this family, only the Sitābhūji epigraph of Diśābhaṇḍa and the Russelkonda plates of Nēṭṭabhaṇḍa are written in the Kalinga script (the Northern element being more prominent in the latter) while all other records issued from Dhitipura and Vaṇḍulvaka are written in the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā and Gauḍīya) characters.

3. Nausāri Inscription of the time of Yādava Rāmadēva, V.S. 1359

Under cover of a letter dated the 27th November 1958, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Bombay was kind enough to send me for examination one inked impression of a stone inscription. He gave the following details about the whereabouts of the inscribed stone: "The inscription was found on a laterite slab at **Nausāri in the Surat District** of Bombay under the gate (Gujarātī *pōl*) of a private street. Above the inscription, the slab has the representation of a horseman overpowering an enemy. Such stones, found in many places in Gujarat, are called *pāṭṭāṇā pathhar* in Gujarātī. The gate under which the inscribed slab was found is at least 350 years old."

From Dr. Unvala's description, it is quite clear that the slab bearing the inscription is what is called a hero stone, i.e. a memorial raised in honour of a warrior who died in a battle fighting for a good cause. There are altogether 12 lines of writing on the slab and they cover an area about 19½ inches in height and 24 inches in breadth. The formation of the letters exhibits

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 258, note 3.

² *JBOSS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 164 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 276.

considerable carelessness on the part of the engraver while a layer of the stone has peeled off here and there damaging a number of letters. Moreover, the letters of the writing in a roundish space about the middle of the epigraph, with a diameter of about 10 inches and affecting lines 5-12 of the inscription, are more or less completely rubbed off probably as a result of the stone having been used for some time as a sharpener of axes, etc. The record is thus **fragmentary**.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and its **language** is Sanskrit. It is written in prose and verse. The date of the epigraph is given in lines 1-3 as the **expired Vikrama year 1359, Plavaṅga, Jyēṣṭha-badi 5, Monday**. These details indicate the **5th May 1303 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a rather peculiar variety of the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *śasti* and the date referred to above. It then refers to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmadēva* stationed at *Dēvagiri* (lines 3-4). This ruler is none other than the well-known king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra (1271-1311 A.D.) of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri which is the modern Daulatābād in the Aurangabad District of Bombay. Line 5 introduces Rāmadēva's subordinate whose territory included śrīman-Nausārikā, i.e. the modern Nausāri where the inscribed slab has been found, with the well-known expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpaṇi*. The following passage in lines 6-7 reads: *Rājaka . . . rāja-śrī-Karṇadēvi*. Unfortunately about 12 letters after *rājaka* in this passage are either indifferently formed or totally rubbed off. The few letters before *rāja* may be [*pradhāna-mahā*] and it is possible that **Karṇadēva** enjoyed the titles *Pradhāna* or *Mahāpindhāna* and *Mahārāja*. After *Rājaka*, the following two letters may be *śaika* reminding us of the official designation *Śaika-veergaḍa* (Kannada) or *Śaikaśhyakṣha*. Thus Karṇadēva, Yādava Rāmachandra's subordinate ruling over the Nausārikā region, seems to have enjoyed the royal titles *Rājaka* and *Mahārāja* side by side with certain official designations. The identity of this Karṇadēva, however, cannot be determined. Of course, about the time in question, Chaulukya-Vāghelā Karṇa II was ruling over parts of Khandesh as a vassal of Yādava Rāmachandra after he had lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultān 'Alauddīn Khiljī. It is difficult to believe that the Nausāri region formed a part of the territory ruled by him. A certain Kṛṣṇadēva is known to have served Yādava Rāmachandra in 1289 A.D. as the governor of the whole of the Koṅkan¹ and, since the name *Kṛṣṇa* is sometimes known to have been re-Sanskritised from Prakrit *Kaṇṇa* as *Karṇa*,² it is not impossible to regard Karṇadēva of our record as identical with the said Kṛṣṇadēva of the Koṅkan. Otherwise it will have to be supposed that our Karṇadēva was a governor of the Yādava king stationed at Nausāri itself.

The above section in prose is followed by three stanzas in which the record proper is written. Unfortunately the damaged nature of the writing stands in the way of a satisfactory interpretation of this part. There is no doubt, however, that it refers to the death of a hero in a battle. But the details cannot be made out satisfactorily. Lines 7-8 appear to mention Maṇḍana, Jamsika and Śrībaḍa probably as personal names.

The **inscription is important** from several points of view. In the first place, it is the only epigraphic record coming from the northernmost area of the Yādava empire and is one of the few such documents of the 14th century referring to the reign of the Yādava king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra. Secondly, it points for the first time to the inclusion of Nausāri in the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri about the beginning of the 14th century. Thirdly, it throws some light on the otherwise obscure history of the Lāṭa country during the early medieval age.

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 329-30.

² *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, December 1959, p. 407.

The latest date for Rāmachandra's reign supplied by epigraphic records falls in September 1310 A.D. when the Yādava king granted some land in Khandesh according to his Purushōttampūrī plates.¹ Muslim sources seem to suggest that he died shortly afterwards.²

Muslim historians appear to indicate that the Narmadā was the northern boundary of Rāmachandra's kingdom. In 1294 A.D., 'Alāuddīn Khāji, nephew of Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh the Khāji Sultān of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā and the Tapti and reached Ellichpur in Berar within Rāmachandra's territory and marched on to the Yādava capital Dēvagiri where Rāmachandra was defeated. The Yādava king was compelled to surrender Ellichpur and its dependencies and agreed to remit the revenues of the said province to 'Alāuddīn annually. In 1306-07, 'Alāuddīn, who had in the meantime become the Sultān of Delhi and had conquered the kingdom of Gujarāt from the Chaulukya-Vāghelā king Karṇa II, noticed that the Yādava king failed to remit the revenues of the Ellichpur province for the past three years and sent an army under Malik Kafur against Dēvagiri. He also ordered Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to attack the Yādava kingdom at the same time. Malik Kafur occupied the Ellichpur province and advanced against Dēvagiri while Alp Khān attacked Karṇa II who was then ruling from Nandurbar in Khandesh as a vassal of Rāmachandra. The Yādava king offered his submission to Malik Kafur and agreed to rule his kingdom as a vassal of the Khāji Sultān. He went to Delhi where he was received by 'Alāuddīn with marks of favour and distinction. The Sultān is stated to have given him on this occasion the district of Nanaūri in Gujarāt as a personal estate and a hundred thousand *ṣakās* to pay his expenses at home.³ Our inscription, however, shows that Nanaūri originally formed a part of the Yādava kingdom. It thus appears to have been a portion of the northern areas of Rāmachandra's kingdom, which were recently annexed to the Sultān's empire by Alp Khān and Malik Kafur.

In the 13th century, the Lāṭa country comprising the Nanaūri-Broach region was a small state on the confines of the kingdom of the Chaulukya-Vāghelā of Gujarāt, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Lāṭa kings were compelled to offer allegiance to one of their three greater neighbours as occasions demanded although they appear to have generally accepted the vassalage of the Paramāras. The *Hamīramadamarāṇa* mentions Siṅha, the king of Lāṭa, and his nephew named Saṅgrāmasiṅha or Saṅkha, son of Sindhurāja, while the same Siṅha is mentioned in an inscription as the vanquisher of Yādava Siṅhapa's forces apparently as a vassal of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (known dates between 1211 and 1215 A.D.).⁴ According to the *Paramarāṇa*, when Chaulukya-Vāghelā Lavagaprasāda and Paramāra Subhatavarman, the father and predecessor of Arjunavarman, were fighting each other and when the Yādavas took advantage of the situation and invaded Lāṭa, Saṅkha defeated them on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā).⁵ The *Hamīramadamarāṇa* also refers to Saṅkha's victory over the army of Yādava Siṅhapa.⁶

While the *Hamīramadamarāṇa* calls Saṅkha a *Mahāmardādhara*, i.e. imitator, of Paramāra Dēvapāla (c. 1216-36 A.D.), Mērutuṅga mentions him as the *Mahāsādhanika*, i.e.

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 109 ff.

² V. V. Mirashi gives the date of Rāmachandra's death as 1312 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 208). While R. G. Bhandarkar puts it as 1309 A.D. and J. F. Fleet as 1310 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 231, 533). Wolseley Haig says that Rāmachandra died 'either late in 1309 or early in 1310' (*CHI*, Vol. III, p. 115). But the Purushōttampūrī plates show that the king's death took place after September 1310 A.D.

³ See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 530-32; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 90, 112-14.

⁴ A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 163-64; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142.

⁵ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Nausari Inscription of the time of Yadava Ramadeva, V. S. 1359



Size : One-fourth

governor, of Broach.¹ In V.S. 1298 (1241 A.D.), however, Broach was under Chaulukya-Vāghelā Vīśaladēva² and this suggests that the northern part of Lāṭa was soon annexed to the Chaulukya-Vāghelā kingdom. The inclusion of Nausāri in the Yādava kingdom in the present inscription seems to suggest that the southern part of Lāṭa was likewise annexed to the Yādava kingdom during the rule of Simhapa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) on the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa family. That Simhapa's army overran the country around Bharukachchha (Broach) is known from the *Kīrtikāusandī*.³ We know that Simhapa invaded Gujarat several times and that on one such occasion, his general Rāma, son of the celebrated Yādava general Khōlōvara, lost his life while fighting on the Narmadā.⁴ Although the Yādavas and the Chaulukya-Vāghelās were often fighting against each other, the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa house and the division of the territory between the above two powers may have been the result of a joint successful adventure of theirs against the Paramāras of Malwa.

Another king of Lāṭa, apparently belonging to the same family represented by Simha, Sindhurāja and Saṃgrāmasūta or Śaṅkha, was Sahajapāla who is sometimes identified with Simha and believed to have ruled over South Lāṭa.⁵ Since Śaṅkha is once represented as a son of the Chāhmāna family, the Lāṭa kings in question may be regarded as Chāhmānas.⁶ It is difficult to say whether Karpadēva, who governed Nausāri in 1303 A.D. as a vassal of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, was a son of the same dynasty.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, both Dēvagiri and Nausārikā are well known.

TEXT^a

- 1 Siddham^b avastī [||*] śri-nripa-Vikrama-kāl-āṭṭa-Plavarīṅ-ābhi-
- 2 dhāna-samvatsarē Samvat 135[9] varshē Jyē[ahtha-ba]di 6 Sō-
- 3 mē-dy-āha śrīmad-Dēvagirāv-adhishṭhita-mahārājādhi-
- 4 rājādhi^c-rāja-śrī-Rāmadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē
- 5 śrī[man-Nau]sārikāyām [tat-pāda-padma-ō]pajivī-garnyō^d
- 6 rājaka-sūta.....[pradhā]na-[mahā]rāja-śrī-
- 7 Karuṇa[dēvē] nripa.....Maṇḍana-Jaṭhai-

¹ Ibid., pp. 154-55.

² Loc. cit.

³ Ibid., p. 161.

⁴ Ibid., p. 154.

⁵ Ibid., p. 163.

⁶ From an impression.

^a Expressed by symbol.

^b The three akṣaras at the beginning of the line are redundant.

^c The intended reading may be *jivya-garnyō.

- 8 ka-Śrībhūja-trayā māh cha.....
 9 svapañ¹ || 1[ś=cha] v[ṛ]ddhīkṛt gajā
 10[va]dhāśā-tatārāya-[va]jā-rā
 11kunda gaja,dīvā karatī | ghōra-pā²
 12[paṭita]h || 3 subhā bhaya(vajra) ||

¹ Read *svapañ*.

² The intended word seems to be *pāṭā*.

No 5—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.1.1960)

The village of Kalyānpur lies about 12 miles to the south of Udaipur. Near the village, there are extensive ruins of an ancient town. A copper-plate grant which was discovered sometime ago at Kalyānpur but was later found in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa resident of Dhulāv (also called Rishabhdev) about four miles from the said village, has been published in the pages of this journal.¹ The charter was issued by Mahārāja Bhētti from Kishkindhā, which was apparently his capital, in the year 73 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 679 A.D. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyānpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhā.² Two other copper-plate grants issued from Kishkindhipura, no doubt identical with Kishkindhā, come from the former Dangarpur State lying to the south of the Kalyānpur region. These two records, the first of which was issued by Bhāviṭa in the Harsha year 48 (654 A.D.) and the second by Bābhata in the Harsha year 83 (689 A.D.) have also been published recently.³ Both these chiefs, who enjoyed feudatory titles, claim to have belonged to the Guhila or Guhilaputra dynasty. Bhāviṭa seems to have succeeded the Guhila chief Dēvagana who was his paternal uncle, while Bābhata was probably a son of the said Dēvagana. Since Bhētti ruled from Kishkindhā between Bhāviṭa and Bābhata, it is very probable that he also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyānpur and was either a younger brother of Bhāviṭa or an elder brother of Bābhata. One Rājaputra Ghōrghaṭasvāmin is mentioned in Bābhata's record and he may have been a son of Bābhata, although it is uncertain whether he ever ascended the throne.

The two stone inscriptions edited here were discovered at Kalyānpur and the inscribed slabs are now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, Nos. B 98-99. The earlier of the two has also been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXV, Part I, pp. 73-74 (without illustration), although the name of the king mentioned in the record has been wrongly read there. The notice of the second inscription in the *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum* for the year ending 31st March 1959, pp. 1-2, is likewise full of errors. The first of the records mentions a certain Mahārāja Paḍḍa, but has no date. The second of them mentions a chief named Kadachhi though it is fragmentary and it is difficult to say whether the portion containing the year of its incision is rubbed off. As, however, will be shown below, the inscription mentioning Paḍḍa and that of the time of Kadachhi can be assigned respectively to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The findspot and palaeography of our records thus suggest that these two chiefs also belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled from the same city. We have elsewhere suggested that Paḍḍa was a predecessor of Dēvagana and Kadachhi a successor of Bābhata.⁴

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff., 5 ff.

² Ibid., p. 4.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 167 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paṇḍa

The inscription contains five lines of writing covering an area about nine inches in length and six inches in height. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are of the ornamental type and belong to the North Indian (*Siddhamātrikā*) alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. They are each about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height. The most interesting palaeographical feature of the record is the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y*. We know that the use of this form of *y* was discontinued in East India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. its latest use being noticed in East Indian records like the Patnakella plates¹ of 502 A.D. and the Dabi plates² of Bhīṣakavarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). In Western India, however, its use lingered on for another half a century. Thus the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite forms of *y* are noticed side by side in records like the Dungarpur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāvikita, referred to above, and the Kumbhar inscription³ of Guhila Aparāṇita of Mewar, dated 661 A.D., though the slightly later Dhulav plate (679 A.D.) of Bhṛṅgi, mentioned above, uses only the earlier form of the letter. As already indicated, it is probable that Mahārāja Paṇḍa of our record was a predecessor of Dāvagana. He probably ruled sometime about the second quarter of the seventh century. The palaeography of the inscription under study is quite in keeping with this suggestion.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The plural in *śiva-śaṅkara-śaṅkara-śivāṅkara* is of grammatical interest since it should have been singular according to Pāṇini (II, 4.2). There is nothing remarkable in its orthography except that the word *śaṅkara* has been spelt as *śaṅkara* in line 4.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *ṛṇṇi*. Then follow a small passage in prose, a stanza in the *Anuṣṭup* metre and another small passage in prose, with which the epigraph ends. These three passages state that a person named Āmāya built a temple of the god Śūlin (i.e. Śiva) in the *rājya* (i.e. during the rule or in the kingdom) of the illustrious Mahārāja Paṇḍa. Āmāya is stated to have built the temple out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of *śiva-śaṅkara* after having bowed down to Śaṅkara (Śiva) with his hands, feet, mind and head. The expression *śiva-śaṅkara* means communion with or absorption in the god Śiva.⁴ The work is further stated to have been done by Āmāya in accordance with the *śāstra*, i.e. the sacred texts handed down by tradition.

TEXT

- 1 सिद्धं स्वस्ति [॥*] प्रणम्य बाहुरं करचरणमतः(न)-
- 2 दिशरोभि ॥ आम्नायेन यथाम्नाय वि-
- 3 तमादाय धर्मतः [॥*] कारितं वृत्तितो
- 4 वेद्यं शिवसायो(यु)ज्यसिद्धये ॥¹
- 5 श्रीमहाराजपट्टराज्ये ॥²

¹ Ibid., Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

² Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

³ Oja, *Prakṛita Bhāṣaṭīkā* (Lipindā), Plate XX.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 297-98.

⁵ From inscriptions.

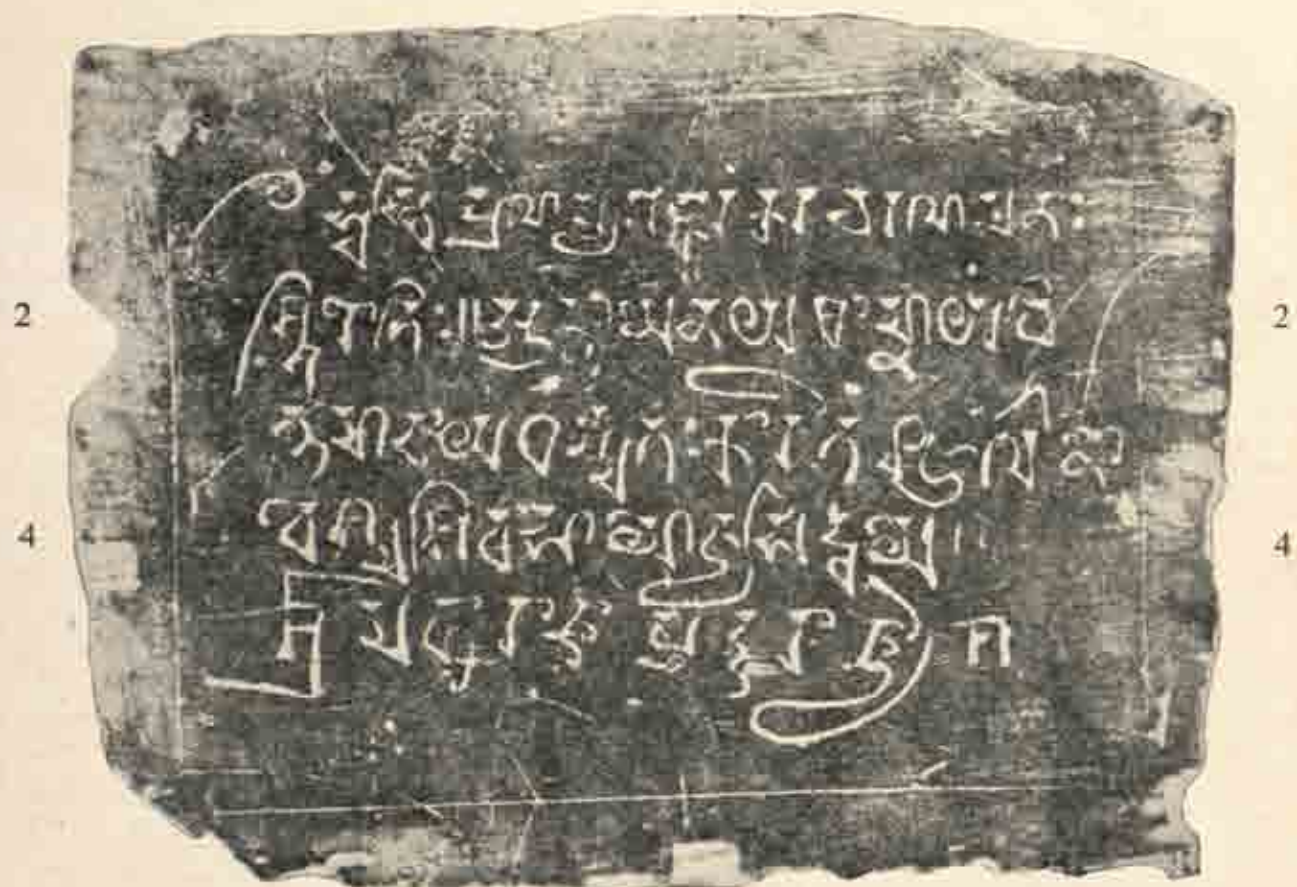
⁶ Expressed by symbol.

⁷ The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭup*.

⁸ The full-stop is indicated by two dashes joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paṇḍa



2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi



Size : One-half

2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi

There are altogether 14 lines of writing in this inscription. The letters are small in size. In average, they are each a little above $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height. The writing covers an area about 14 inches in length and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The preservation of the record is unsatisfactory. It seems that the inscribed surface of the slab was used for sharpening some tool like an axe. The tool was rubbed on the slab from the upper right side a little slantingly towards the middle. As a result, a number of letters in lines 1-10 have been rubbed off, many of them completely. The internal evidence shows that the epigraph was originally set up in a Śiva temple, the construction of which is recorded in it.

The palaeography of the inscription is later than that of the inscription of the time of Paḍḍa edited above. It uses throughout the later bipartite form of *y*. The letters have ornamental formation. The lower end of *t* curves towards the right. On grounds of palaeography, the record may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as we have suggested elsewhere,¹ the chief Kadachhi mentioned in it, probably belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled after Guhila Bībhata of the same family sometime in the eighth century A.D. and that the said house of the Guhilas was ousted by the Guhilas of Mewar sometime afterwards.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse with a small passage in prose at the beginning. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the class nasal in expressions like *Qaṅgān-dhāraya*² in line 2. The words *saṁskaraṇa* used for *saṁskaraṇa* in verse 3 (line 11) and *chintita* for *rachita* in verse 13 (line 14) are of lexical interest.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow three partially preserved stanzas (verses 1-3) in lines 1-5, all in adoration to the god Śiva. The next fragmentary stanza (verse 4) in lines 5-6 introduces a person named Kadachhi who seems to have been the chief, during whose rule the inscription was set up. The preserved portion of verse 5 in lines 6-8 refers to a lady who may have been a wife of Kadachhi. The following stanza (verse 6) in lines 8-9, only a few words of which can be deciphered, appears to have contained a reference to the construction of a Śiva temple by the same lady. This is not only suggested by its concluding words, viz. *bhuvā māṇḍanam* (i.e. an ornament of the earth) probably qualifying a word like *mandiram*, but also by verses 11-12 below which quote the details of the date (without mentioning the year) when a temple of Sambhu (Śiva) was *nirāṣṭa*, probably referring to its consecration ceremony, and also pray for the long life of the said temple. The details of the date quoted in this connection, in which the mention of the year only is missing, seem to suggest that the year was referred to in the damaged parts of verse 3.

Verse 7 (lines 9-10) which along with the following verses can fortunately be fully read, recounts the qualities of the lady named Vṣṇā who was responsible for the construction of the temple, while the next stanza (verse 8) in lines 10-11 refers to a grant of forty *drāmaṇas* (i.e. 40 coins of that name), no doubt made by the lady in question, for future necessities such as the carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages apparently in the said temple of Śiva, for [the burning of] *guggula* [before the deity in it] and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor and compound.

Verse 9 in lines 11-12 mentions a Śaiva teacher named Kuṭukk-ānhārya, who may have been the lady's preceptor, as one rendering help in the pious work, i.e. the construction of the temple of Śiva.

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 170.

The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) in lines 12-13 state that the temple was consecrated (*nivishṭa*) on an auspicious *yōga* during the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra*, when the moon was in conjunction with the *Rōhini nakṣatra*. Verse 12 in lines 13-14 contains a prayer to the effect that the temple of *Samhṛa*, white like the moon and beautiful like the snow-mountain, might last as long as the seas, the mountains, the *Vēdas*, the moon, the kings, the king of the serpents and the *Rudras* would endure. This is followed by the concluding stanza (verse 13 in line 14) which states that [the inscription] was composed (*cāṁṣṭā*) by *Jhaṅga*, son of *Bhaṭṭa Mamma*, and that it was engraved by the *kāmākṣa* (goldsmith) *Nāgāditya*.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 8 *Arjā*; verses 2, 3, 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 5 *Śaṅkharā*; verses 7, 9-11, 13 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 12 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 सिद्धम्² [१*] नमः शिवाय । सोमोपि निष्कलङ्को हरोपि वरदः स्मृतः
शिवो [रोद्रः ।] हि विपरीतगुणो भवो ज-
- 2 यति ॥ [१*] गङ्गान्धारसौम्य भस्मगुचिना मूर्द्धना न युक्तं तव
संघ्वात[न्दन] — — — — — त्यादुत(तम्) । वासो नास्ति ममे-
- 3 ह नाय पितर श्री(वी)ध्र नयस्वाद्य मां गोर्धे(यै)वं मदिते वि[हस्य]
— — — — — [सदा पातु वः ॥२*] पातुतानं व्रजतिः(ति) क्षितिः प-
- 4 दहता क्षुब्धाद्य तोयागया दिक्ष्वक्कं भ्रमतीव बाहुविधूतं — — — — —
— — — — — [स]वराचरं तू(त्रि)भुवनं [दे]वा गता विस्मयं भी-
- 5 ता दैत्यगणाः स्तुवन्ति मुनयो लीलाप्रनृत्ते हारे ॥ [३*]
. लपादः श्रीमां(भान्) कदच्छि³-
- 6 देवः सकलगुणाल(ल)ङ्कृतो नित्यं (स्वम्) ॥ [४*] वि[म्बो] — — — — —
— — — — — [जी]वा सुबाहू कमलदलनि-
- 7 मा कुचितभ्रूपताका । जामुलोत्तुङ्गवृत्तं — — — — —
— — — — — सकलगुणगणालङ्क-
- 8 ता धर्मशीला ॥ [५*] मत्वा चंचलतां — — — — —
— — — — — ण्यमप्यध्रुवम् ।
- 9 मातापुत्रकलदाबन्धुषु सदा स — — — — — [यै]तं — — — — —
— — — — — भूयो मण्डनं(नम्) ॥ [६*] सत्यं दानं द-

¹ From impressions. Some letters, not clear on the impressions, can be seen on their backsides.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The intended reading may be *Kudachchā*³ which would suit the metre.

- 10 या दार्य दक्षिण्य द्विजपूजनं(नम्) । दीनानुकंपनं बोण्णा विजा[नाति
शुभानता] ॥ [७*] चत्वारिंशद्दम्मा दत्ताः कालास्तरोपयोगार्थं(धम्) ।
- 11 खड्गकुटितसमारणसन्ना(म्मा)ग्जेन[गुग्गु]लुनिमित्तं(त्तम्) ॥ [८*] सहायो धम्म-
कार्येस्मि(स्मिन्) शुचि[दंक्षो] जितेंद्रियः । कुट्टुक्काचार्यतामाभूत्तं(ज्जे)व-
- 12 सिद्धान्तकोविदः ॥ [९*] उत्कुलमल्लिकाजाललीनालिकुलञ्ज(स)ङ्कते ।
एलालवंगककोलतमालकलिकाकुले ॥ [१०*] काले चैत्रस्य पंचम्यां चद्रे [रो]हि-
- 13 णिसंशु(त्रि)ते । शुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे निविष्टं शंभुमं(म)न्दिरं(रम्) ॥ [११*]
यावत्समुद्रेन्द्रनगेन्द्रवेदाश्चन्द्रो नरेन्द्रा भुजगेन्द्ररुद्राः । चन्द्रावदातं तुहिना-
- 14 द्विशोभं शंभोगृहं तिष्ठतु तावदत्त ॥ [१२*] भट्टमम्मस्य पुत्त्रेण ज्ञं(स)ङ्कता
चित्तिता शुभा । उत्कीर्णा हेमकारेण नागादित्येन धीमता ॥ [१३*]^३

^१ Verses 10-11 together form a yugmakā.

^२ A word like *prajñā* is understood in this stanza.

No. 6—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22

[2 Plates]

V. V. MIRASHI, NAUGPUR, AND THE LATE PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH

(Received on 18.6.1960)

This set of three copper plates was discovered together with another set of plates of Tivaradēva by one Guesi Ram Rawat while digging the foundation of a house on the 5th May 1959 at Bōpā, a village in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the Raigarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is a large one and is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi, opposite the village of Bālpur. Both the sets of plates were taken to Pipardulā in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, from where Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey obtained them through the courtesy of Shri Birbal Prasad and Shiv Lal Prasad of that village. They were then sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. The grant is edited here from the original plates.

The three plates were held together by a ring, about 4" in thickness, which passed through a round hole (7" in diameter) in the middle of the left side of each plate, about 1" from the edge. The two ends of the ring were soldered below a circular seal, about 3.7" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Pandit Pandeya. The seal is like those of the other plates of Mahā-Sivagupta.¹ Its countersunk surface is divided into three parts, the upper part bearing in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandi), facing left, with a *trishula* in front and a *maṅgola-kulala* behind. Below this device and separated from it by two horizontal lines appears the metrical legend in two lines. Below the legend is a large full-blown lotus, flanked by a leaf on either side. The weight of the three plates is 135 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 81 tolas.

The record consists of twentynine lines, of which the first twenty-eight are equally divided among the four inscribed sides, viz., the inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, the last line containing only two letters and a numerical symbol being inscribed on the outer side of the third plate. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved, some of them showing through on the back of the first and third plates. The edges of the plates were not raised; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety, resembling those of the Mallār,² Bārdulā³ and Lōdhīā⁴ plates of Mahā-Sivagupta. As remarked before while editing the Mallār plates, they are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the grants of the Vākāṭaka and Śarabha-puriya kings. The following peculiarities may be noted. The letters *a*, *ā* and *ka* have a redundant curve added to the vertical on the right, which is not noticed in the other grants of this king. See, e.g., *apī* (line 19), *agnī* (line 21), *śakāhāṇā* (line 24) and *sukhāṇ* (line 15). On the other hand, a similar curve, though an essential part of subscript *ā*, is not engraved in the case of the conjunct *ja* in *prajā* in line 3. Initial *ā* is differentiated from *ka* by the absence of a box-head; see *śa-śtoṣaṇ* (line 18). A final consonant is shown either by the addition of a slanting stroke at the

¹ See, e.g., the seal of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing page 121) and of the Lōdhīā plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plate facing page 325).

² Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 327 ff.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 319 ff.

bottom of its vertical or by a curve encircling it. For an instance of the former, see *śadyāt* (line 23) and for that of the latter, see *śambat* (line 28). Numerical symbols for 2, 6 and 20 occur in lines 28 and 29. Punctuation is shown by means of two vertical strokes, the first of which is hooked.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The legend on the seal is, of course, in verse as in the grants of the Vākīṭakas, Śarabhapuriyas and other Śōmavamśis. As regards orthography, we may notice the following. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated; see, e.g., *śagōṭṭra* (line 12) and *śaurgya* (line 3) and that before *ri* is also reduplicated, though wrongly, in *Sannidhāttri* (line 8). *B* is used for *v* in several places; see *Bṛāṣa* (line 20), *śambat* (line 28), etc. *Anuvāra* before *ś* and *s* is changed to the guttural nasal; see *vaśśa* (line 5), *śrīśśāś* (lines 17-18), etc. The writer has generally written short medial *i* in place of the long one; see, e.g., *maḥim* (line 17). Such mistakes as *tōmbra* (line 13) and *ucchākrīja* (line 20) were evidently due to wrong pronunciation.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā-Śivagupta, the son of the illustrious Harahadēva,¹ who was born in the Śōmavamśa (lunar race) and was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva). They record the grant of the village Śarīkarā-pātaka situated in the vishaya (district) of Lāyōḍaka, which the king made on the Pausa-śaṅkrāntī. The donee was the Brāhmana Trivikramasvamin of the Bhāradvāja gṛha and the Chhamlōga (Sāmavēda). The charter is dated on the sixth tithi of the first fortnight of Pausa in the twenty-second year of the king's increasingly victorious reign. The date is recorded in both words and numerical symbols.

Mahā-Śivagupta belonged to a royal family which is called *Pāṇḍu-vamśa* in earlier grants² and *Sōma-vamśa* in later ones.³ Several copper-plate and stone inscriptions of this family have been found in Chhattisgarh. Earlier scholars like Fleet and Kielhorn, who edited them, referred them to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Fleet, for instance, while editing the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva, the granduncle of Mahā-Śivagupta, remarked, "Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800."⁴ Kielhorn, who edited the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta (identical with Mahā-Śivagupta of the present grant), observed as follows: "The inscription is not dated, but it may, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grants of Tivaradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700."⁵ This view was contested by Prof. Mirashi who, while editing the Thākurdīyā plates⁶ of Mahā-Pravararāja, showed that Tivaradēva flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Further examination of the matter led him to fix tentatively the accession of Tivaradēva in 560 A.D. and the reign-period of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta alias Bālārjuna as 590-650 A.D.⁷ We know from the Lōdhī plates that the latter had a long reign of more than 57 years as he had come to the throne when quite young and was known as Bālārjuna on account of his skill in archery. He was probably the king of Kōśala who submitted to Pulakēśin II as stated in the latter's Aihōje inscription. It was evidently to his court that Hiuen-tsang paid a visit during his itinerary.

¹ He is called Harahagupta in the legend on the seal.

² See, e.g., the Banahat plates, line 1 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 140); Rājim (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 295) and Balodā (*above*, Vol. VII, pp. 194-95) plates of Tivaradēva; etc.

³ See, e.g., the Mallik plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 129); Sirpur stone inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 190), etc.

⁴ *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 179. See also *above*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 13 f.

⁷ *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 229; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.

As the records of Sōmavahśī kings are singularly lacking in details necessary for computation, the period assigned above to Mahā-Sīvagupta could not be verified till now. The present charter fortunately contains some particulars which, if properly utilised, may help us in its verification. The grant was made on the occasion of the Pausa-saṅkrānti, which is the same as the Makara-saṅkrānti. The *tithi* on which it occurred is not stated in connection with it; but it was probably identical with the date of the record, which is given at the end as the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (or Pushya) in the twenty-second [regnal] year. In ancient times, grants were no doubt sometimes recorded several days or even months after they were made;¹ but the mention of the month Pausa both in connection with the occasion of the gift and its recording makes it very likely that the two dates were identical. Besides, from two other grants of this king we know that his gifts were recorded on the same day on which they were made. Thus, the Bārdūlā plates show that his grant of the village Vajrapadraka was made on the Kārttika-sukla-dvādasi and that it was recorded on the same day.² Similarly, the grant mentioned in the Lōdhī plates was made and recorded on the same *tithi*, viz. Kārttika-paurṇamāsī.³ We may therefore conclude that the present grant also was made and recorded on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti which occurred on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa.

Usually, the fortnights of a lunar month are specified as *śukla* or *kṛishṇa*. In the present grant, however, the fortnight in which the grant was recorded is called *prathama* or first. As both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes of lunar months were prevalent in ancient times, the mention of the fortnight as first makes it doubtful whether the *śukla* or the *kṛishṇa pakṣa* is meant. The records of the Śarabhapuriya and Sōmavahśī kings do not generally mention the fortnight, but count the days or *tithis* from 1 to 30.⁴ This custom was prevalent both in the case of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* lunar months⁵ and therefore affords no clue to the solution of the present problem. The Lōdhī plates, however, indicate that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme was in vogue in Chhatargarh in the time of Mahā-Sīvagupta. These plates mention the *tithi* first as Kārttika-paurṇamāsī and then as Kārttika-dina 30,⁶ which clearly shows that it was cited according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. If the same scheme was intended in the case of the present grant also, its date Pausa-prathama-pakṣa-ṣaṣṭhī would mean the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month Pausa. Now, the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa is identical with the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa. So we shall have to suppose that the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred in the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa. This is impossible; for the saṅkrānti which occurs in *amānta* Mārgaśīrṣa must be Dhanu, not Makara. The mention of the Makara-saṅkrānti in the present grant clearly shows that the month Pausa in which it occurred must be taken to be *amānta*.⁷ The sixth

¹ See the dates of some Gāgga grants discussed above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171 f.

² See lines 15 and 29 of the Bārdūlā plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 291).

³ See lines 10-11 and 32 of the Lōdhī plates (ibid., pp. 325-26).

⁴ See, e.g., Mārgaśīrṣa 26 of the Āraṇṇ plates of Mahā-Jayavāṇa (CII, Vol. III, p. 194; Vaiśākha-di 29 of the Āraṇṇ plates of Mahā-Sudhavarāja (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22); Śrāvana-di 29 of the Khariar plates of Sudhavarāja (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 173); Jyēṣṭha-di 27 of the Balodā plates of Tivaraśīva (ibid., Vol. VII, p. 106); Kārttika-dina 30 of the Lōdhī plates of Mahā-Sīvagupta (ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 325).

⁵ For its use in connection with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, see the date of the Mahāgaurā plates of Hastin (CII, Vol. III, pp. 107-08) and that of the Khoh plates of Saṅkshobha (ibid., pp. 114-15). For its connection with the *amānta* scheme, see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

⁷ It may seem strange that both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes should have been used in the official records of the same king Mahā-Sīvagupta. This is not, however, a unique instance of the type. We have an exactly similar case in the records of the Kalachuri king Prithivīdeva I of Raichur. His Raichur plates of the Kalachuri year 821 are dated according to the *amānta* scheme, while his Amhā plates issued ten years later in the Kalachuri year 831 are dated according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. See CII, Vol. IV, pp. 399 and 402. There are, of course, numerous instances of both the schemes being prevalent in the same area and in the same period. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 173. [As the court of the same king could have scarcely been oblivious of the confusion that would result from the indiscriminate use of *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months without proper indication, in the dating of royal records, we are not inclined to subscribe to these views.—Ed.]

tithi of the first fortnight of Pausha must, therefore, be taken to mean the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of that month.

As stated above, the reign period of Mahā-Sivagupta was tentatively fixed as 590-630 A.D.¹ Let us therefore see how far this period is corroborated by the date of the present plates. If Mahā-Sivagupta began to reign in c. 590 A.D., his twentysecond regnal year must be in the neighbourhood of 611 A.D. We have calculated the moment of the Makara-saṅkrānti and the duration of the *tithi* Pausha-śukla-śaṣṭhī for all years in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.² The only year in this period in which the *saṅkrānti* and the *tithi* came together is 616 A.D. In that year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at sunrise on the 20th December, while the *tithi* Pausha-śukla-śaṣṭhī ended 3 hours and 50 minutes after mean sunrise on that day. The 20th of December 616 A.D. is therefore probably the date of the present grant. As it was made in the twentysecond year of Mahā-Sivagupta's reign, the king came to the throne in 596 A.D. This is perhaps the only instance in which it has been possible to determine the year of accession of a king whose records are dated only in regnal years. Its corroboration will have to be left to future discoveries.³

There are only two places mentioned in the present grant viz. the donated village Śarkarā-pātaka⁴ and Lāyōḍḍaka, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated. The former cannot be traced in the vicinity of the village Bōḍḍā where the plates were found; the latter may be identical with the village Lārā which lies about 10 miles north by east of Bōḍḍā.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम् [1*] स्वस्त्यशेषकी(क्षि)ति(ती)ग[वि]द्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीयविन-
- 2 यसम्पत्संपादितसकलविजिगि(गी)बुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रयः
- 3 प्रकृष्टतरणीर्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसंभावितमहाभ्युदयः कांतिके-
- 4 य इव कुत्तिवाससो राज्ञः धि(धी)हर्षदेवस्य सुनुः[*] सोम-
- 5 वक्ष्यसंभवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातधि(धी)महासी(शि)व-
- 6 गुप्तराज[*] कुशलिली ॥ लायोडुकवंवयिकशक्करापाटके वा-
- 7 ह्यणां(णान्) संपु(पु)ञ्च सप्रधानान्[*] प्रतिवासितो यथाकालाध्यासित[*]

¹ Cf. also above, Vol. XXVII, p. 289 and Vol. XXXI, p. 220; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 322.

² Times dates have been calculated with the help of the Tables in Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I.

³ [See above, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]

⁴ This village is different from Śarkarāpādraka granted by the Śarabhapuriya king Narēndra. The latter was situated in the territorial division Nandapura. See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 145.

⁵ From the original plates.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *corā*.

⁸ For the form of the letter *d* see *piḍā* in line 11.

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 समाहर्तुसन्निधानं(त्)प्रमूखान्त्याङ्गचा'स्मत्पादोपजोवी(वि)नः[†]
- 9 सर्व्वराजपुरुषान्समाजापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु भवतो यथा-
- 10 स्माभिरयङ्ग्रामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वक-
- 11 रादानसमेतः सर्व्वपि(पी)डावज्जितः प्रतिपिद्वचाटभटप्रवे-
- 12 घो ऋण्दोर्गभरद्वाजसगोक्षभट्ट(त्रि)विक्रमस्वामिने पोषसंज्ञान्त्या-
- 13 मुदकपूर्व्व मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिषु(वु)द्धये ताम्ब्र'शासनेना-
- 14 चन्द्रार्कसमकालोपभोगार्थं प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्यास्व विधे-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 यतया समुचितं भोगभागादिकमुपनयद्भिर्भवंद्भिः^{*} सुखं प्रती(ति)-
- 16 वस्तव्य(व्य)मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्दिष्येदमभिधि(धी)यते [1*] भूमि-
- 17 प्रदा द्विवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हत्वा मर्हि(ही) नृपतपो नरके नृशङ्का-
- 18 त् [1*] एतद्व(द्व)यं पारिकलव्य चलाञ्च लक्षि(क्षी)मा[यु][†]स्तथा कुस्त य-
- 19 द्रुवतामभि(भी)ष्ट(ष्टम्)[‡] [11*] अपि च [1*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्फलं
मुगति-
- 20 दुर्गन्ति(ती) [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमृच्छि(त्सु)ज्य नर[कं] प्रतिपद्यते[§] [1*]
व्या(व्या)सगी-
- 21 तादृचास्त्रं श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [1*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं

* Read "m-ayāhārah-kā".

† The same requires an expression like *mo-pāi-āpajitāh*.

‡ Read *pratikā-āhmadya*.

§ Read *āhara*.

* This character has a redundant curve attached to its vertical on the right. See its form in line 16 of the Mallā plates (above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 120).

* Read *ayāhārah*.

† The metre of the verse is *Vaṇastakāh*.

‡ The metre of the verse is *Anuakāh*.

BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22—PLATE I

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ अश्वमेधं यजामहे सुकृताय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 ४ ॥ यत्किञ्चिद्गम्यते तत्तत्सर्वं ॥ ४ ॥
 ६ ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ८ ॥ अश्वमेधं यजामहे सुकृताय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 १० ॥ यत्किञ्चिद्गम्यते तत्तत्सर्वं ॥ १० ॥
 १२ ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 १४ ॥ अश्वमेधं यजामहे सुकृताय नमः ॥ १४ ॥

ii, a

८ ॥ अश्वमेधं यजामहे सुकृताय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 १० ॥ यत्किञ्चिद्गम्यते तत्तत्सर्वं ॥ १० ॥
 १२ ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 १४ ॥ अश्वमेधं यजामहे सुकृताय नमः ॥ १४ ॥

16

16 16
 18 18
 20 20

16

18

20

22

24

26

28

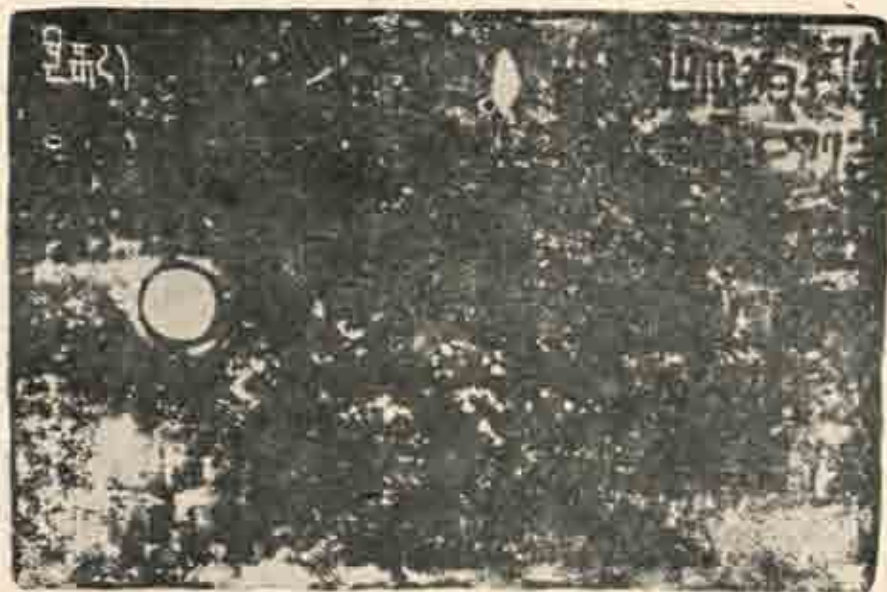
22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

22

24

26

28



Scale : Three-fifths

SEAL



(from Photograph)

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 भूर्वर्णवि(वी) सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[1*]
 23 क(का)ञ्चनं गाञ्च महि(ही)ञ्च दत्तात् [11*] [प]ण्डितवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मो-
 24 दति भूमिदः [1*] प्राच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11*] व-
 25 हृभिवंसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 26 त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [11*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बां¹ यत्नादश्च
 युधिष्ठिर [1*] महि(ही)
 27 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्रे(च्छे)योनुपालनमिति ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये
 28 सम्भ्र(संव)त्सरे द्वाविंशते(विंशे) पौषप्रथमपक्षषष्ठधामद्धेनापि संव(व)त् २० २
 पुष्य-

Third Plate, Second Side

29 दिन ६ ।

Seal

राज्ञ[1*] श्री[हर्ष]गुप्तस्य सूनो[1*] सद्गुणशालिना[1*]
 शासनं [शि]वगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनस्थिते ॥

¹ The metre of this verse is *Indravajrā*.

² The metre of this verse and the following verses is *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Read *paradattā* or *vā*.

5 DGA/80

No. 7—SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARAHASTIN

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR AND J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.8.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered at Salri near Saliga in the former Mandi State, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. It was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08*, p. 265, Plate 83, although it does not find a place in Bhandarkar's list. In his *Mathura Inscriptions* (edited by K. L. Jha), p. 143, Liders commented on the form of the name of the king during whose reign the epigraph was engraved.¹ The record is edited here from an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The impression represents a stone inscription in three lines covering an area about 27½ inches long and about eight inches high. Single letters are each about one inch and a half in height. There is the representation of a long trident in the left margin of the epigraph with an axe joined to its shaft from the right and a goad from the left. It is not improbable that it was the emblem of the royal family to which the epigraph belongs. A combined trident and axe, closely resembling the symbol on our inscription with the goad omitted, is held by Lakulisa, the great founder of the Lakulisa sect of the Pāṇpatas, in his left hand.² The symbol therefore was Śaivite in character. The Śaivite leanings of the kings mentioned in our record are also suggested by their names, viz., Īvara and Chandāvara, both meaning the god Śiva.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Late Brāhmī alphabet as prevalent in the western areas of Northern India about the earlier part of the fourth century A. D. The forms of *ṃ*, *ḥ*, *y* and *l* are of the usual Northern type which are not found in the early epigraphs of Southern and Western India, while letters like *m*, *z* and *k* are expected in the records belonging to the western regions of Northern India. Such letters as *k* and *m* as used in our inscription do not appear to be later than the fourth century A. D.³ whereas the types of medial *i* sign used in *śiācha* in line 1 and *paśi* in line 3 and the angularity of the right upper end of *ś* as in *śāvara* in line 1 are not general expected in records earlier than the said century. The early type of subscript *ḍ* used in *ḍḍ* in line 2 of the epigraph under study reminds us of one of the two types of the same sign noticed in the Allahabad pillar inscription⁴ of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.), e.g. (1) in *ḍaḍḍas* in line 14 and *pruḍḍaḍḍa* in line 23, wherein the lower limb of *ḍ* is a straight stroke slanting towards the lower right, and (2) in *maḍḍaḍḍa* in line 23 and *ḍaḍḍa* in line 33, in which the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left rather sharply in the first case and slightly in the second.

¹ Liders' suggestion that this name is *Schandhvara* and not *Chandhvara* does not appear to be quite satisfactory. See below, p. 97 and note 5.

² Cf. the Mandara image of Lakulisa in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Vikrama 1862* (1923-24) Plate II, figure a, also M. B. Gaud, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, Plate XXIX. Three of the attendants of Lakulisa on the same stone bear the trident, axe and goad individually. The trident-axe symbol is noticed as a trimer of seals (cf., e.g., seals from Jhark in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Nos. JH 243, 244 and 280).

³ Similar forms are found in the Mathura inscription of 380 A.D. (above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 12), though the paleigraphy of that record gives the impression of a date earlier than that of the Allahabad pillar inscription (CII, Vol. III, Plate I) of the middle of the fourth century A.D.

⁴ CII, Vol. III, Plate 1.

This limb of subscript *d* in our inscription is a straight vertical stroke earlier than the development of the letter noticed in the first of its two forms found in Samudragupta's epigraph referred to above.¹ Although this kind of slanting lower limb of the letter *d* is found in the inscriptions of the Scythian and Kushāna rulers of the first and second centuries A.D., the palaeography of the inscription under study is of course considerably closer to that of Samudragupta's inscription than the records of the Early Scythians and Kushānas. Moreover, the early type of *d* found in our inscription seems to be also noticed on certain coins of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).² An interesting palaeographical feature of our inscription is the outward curvature at the lower part of the left limb of *g* and *ḥ* as well as the serif with the subscripts in conjuncts. These two characteristics are sometimes noticed in the inscriptions of the ages of the Kushānas and the earlier Guptas. The Shorkot inscription³ of 402 A.D. exhibits both the features, the second of them rarely.⁴ But its palaeography is decidedly later than that of our epigraph.

The language of the inscription under study is Sanskrit. *Sandhi* has not been observed in *mahārāja-śaura* in line 1 while *śrī-śa-chaṇḍīśvara* has been written in lines 1-2 for *śrī-Chaṇḍīśvara*, this kind of avoidance of *sandhi* being sometimes found in some early inscriptions.⁵

The inscription contains a single sentence stating that *Mahārāja Chanḍīśvarahastin*, who was the son of *Mahārāja Śvarahastin* and belonged to the *Vātsa gōtra*, built a city in a locality called *Śrēṇyaka* after having defeated a person named *Rājula*. The family represented by the two *Mahārājas* with names ending in *hastin* may probably be regarded as the Hastin dynasty. An *śloka* in the name of the city built by Chanḍīśvarahastin in *Śrēṇyaka* is damaged, though the name may have been *Bhaṭṭasālipuri*. It is difficult to say whether the word *bhaṭṭa* had anything to do with the soldiers who must have fought in the battle referred to. The reference may also be to the temple of a deity called *Bhaṭṭasālin*.

It is clear from the contents of the record that the victory over the enemy was regarded by *Mahārāja Chanḍīśvarahastin* as an achievement worthy enough to be commemorated by the construction of a city or temple probably on the site where the battle between himself and his adversary was fought.

The title *Mahārāja* assumed by the rulers mentioned in our record was first used in India by the Indo-Greek king Eucratides in the first half of the second century B.C., while, among indigenous Indian monarchs, it was first assumed by the Kāśīka king Khāravela who flourished about the close of the first century B.C.⁶ In the second and third centuries A.D., some Indian kings called themselves *Rājā* and *Mahārāja* indiscriminately, although the former title was possibly somewhat more popular especially in South India.⁷ With the popularisation of the imperial title *Mahārājādīpītya* by the Guptas from the fourth century A.D., *Mahārāja* generally became the title of smaller rulers and feudatories especially in North India.⁸ These facts do not

¹ The *abhyasa* *ed* in the Mathura inscription (350 A.D.) of Chandragupta II is of the same type; but the lower limb is only slightly slanting. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8, text line 17 (*abhyast*).

² See Altakar, *Gupta Gold Coins of the Bhanuva Hoard*, Plate XXXV, No. 36; Plate XXXVII, No. 43.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 12.

⁴ Cf. loc. cit., *ed* in *carvaka*; also *GH*, Vol. III, Plate XXXVI, *d* (see in "epicasts in line 2); etc.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 131, note 8.

⁶ *Select Descriptions*, p. 222, note 3; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 215. The Śunga king Bhāgavata is supposed to be called a *Mahārāja* in the Banāras inscription (*Mém. A. S. I.*, No. 5, p. 122 and Plate XXVI; *JRNRS*, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 144). But the only *śloka* readable on the stone after the king's name is *ma* and it is difficult to say whether the intended word is *Mahārāja* or anything else.

⁷ Cf. the Sātavāhana and Udayana inscriptions, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 196, text line 1; p. 198, text line 10; p. 222 (No. 3), text lines 2 and 3; etc.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 364-65.

clash with the ascription of our record to the beginning of the fourth century since, in the third and fourth centuries, the rulers of the western regions of North India often assumed the title *Mahārāja*.¹

As regards the names of the two kings mentioned in our record, both ending in the word *Hastin*, only a few such royal names are known to us from early records. Although king Hastin of the *Parivrajaka* family and rulers named Hastivarma in the *Śālaśāyana* and Eastern *Gaṅga* dynasties are well known,² names of early Indian rulers ending in *Hastin* are no doubt rare. We know of one *Rajahastin* who issued tiny silver coins bearing his name on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse apparently in reference to the second element in his name. A few such coins were found in Rajasthan and Kathiawar and at Kanauj. It is also known that *Rajahastin* was another name of the celebrated Gurjara-Pratihāra king *Vatsarāja* (c. 775-805 A.D.) who may have been the issuer of the coins in question.³ The name *Rājyila* reminds us of a chief of the same name mentioned in the *Vasantgadhi* (Sirohi District, Rajasthan) inscription of 625 A.D.⁴ and of the chief *Rājyila* who was an ancestor of the Pratihāra chiefs of the Jodhpur region mentioned in the Jodhpur and Ghatiyala inscriptions, dated respectively in 837 and 861 A.D.⁵ The name *Rājyila* borne by a royal officer mentioned in the *Karitalai* plates (493 A.D.)⁶ of the Uchchakalpa king *Jayanātha* seems to be a modification of the same name.

There are two geographical names in the inscription, viz. the locality called *Śrēṇyaka* and the city called *Bhaṭṭa* [?] *Śālipuri* which may also have been the name of a temple. It is difficult to say if *Śālipuri* in the name is the origin of the name *Sāli* where the inscription has been found. If such is the case, *Śrēṇyaka* would be the old name of the land around the said village.

TEXT

- 1 Śrī-mahārāja-¹Varahastī-satpatrēpa mahārāja-²Śrī-Cha-³
- 2 ⁴Varahastīnā Rājyilam . . . ⁵yādhi jītvā Śrēṇyakā Bha-
- 3 [ta?] ⁶Śālipurī kṛitā Vāta-sagōtrēpa ||⁷

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 62; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 283; etc.

² Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2089, pp. 386, 390; also see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283, for a Hastin of the *Maṅghari* family.

³ See *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 282-83; Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23. For the name *Gurjasthin*, see Lüders' *List*, No. 34.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nos. 26 and 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 1194.

⁷ From an impression.

⁸ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

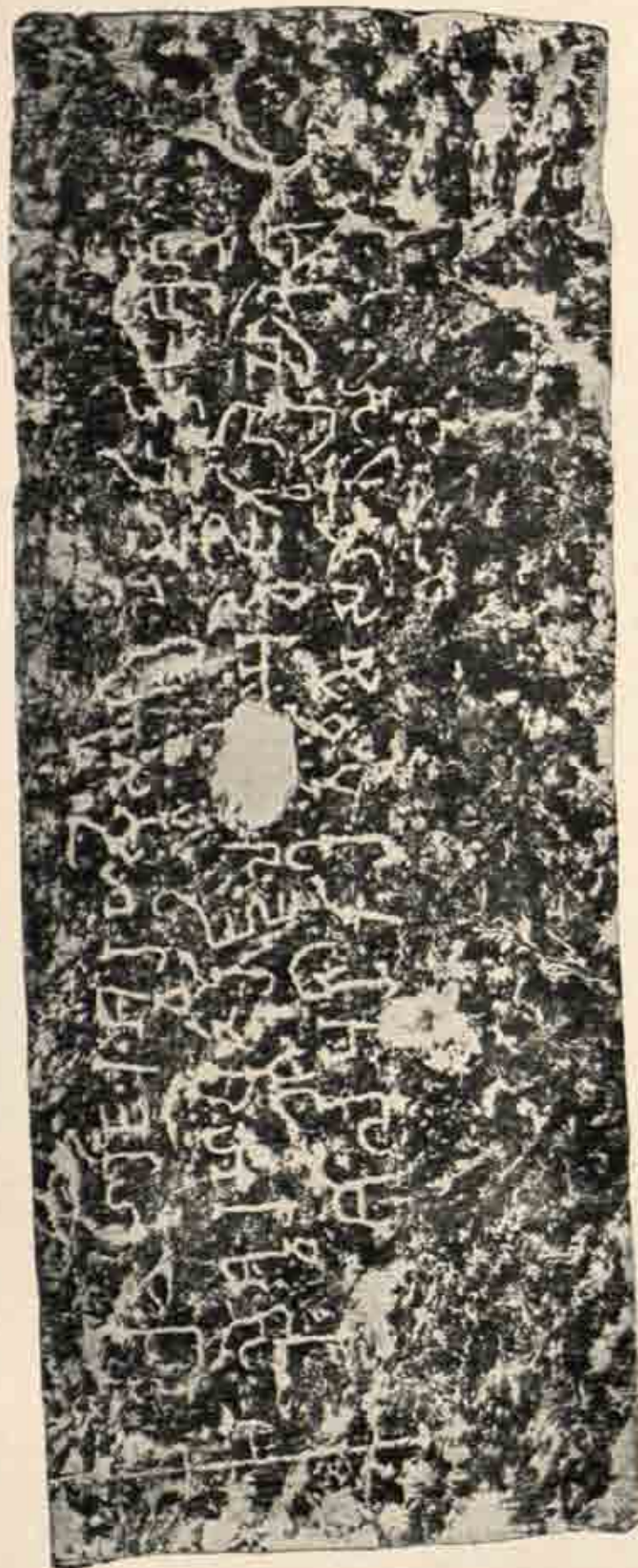
⁹ Read *Śrī-Cha*.

¹⁰ These two *śālikar* are lost. Traces of what may be a superscript *i* forming a part of the second *śālikar* are visible.

¹¹ One *śālikar* is damaged here. The traces do not help us in restoring it, although it may have been *ta*.

¹² The punctuation is indicated by a *śālikar*-like sign followed by a horizontal stroke.

SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARHASTIN



Scale : One-fourth

No. 8—ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.6.1960)

It is well known to the students of Indian numismatics that Prof. V. V. Mirashi has been trying for the past ten years to prove the existence of a Mahisha dynasty of Śaka nationality founded by a king named Māna and of certain other rulers of that family as also to show that these Mahisha kings ruled over the southern part of the former Hyderabad State. The theories are based on his reading and interpretation of the legends on certain coins mostly discovered in the said area. It may also be known to our numismatists that we have often expressed the opinion that Prof. Mirashi's readings of the coin legends are doubtful and that his interpretations of the legends are still more dubious. But it has sometimes been complained that we have only characterised the published readings of the coin legends and their interpretations as unsatisfactory without offering any reading and interpretation ourselves.¹

Our difficulty was that we were not prepared to commit without examining the coins and satisfying ourselves with the reading of the legends and their interpretation. Recently we had an opportunity of examining the plaster casts of some of the coins in the Hyderabad Museum including what Prof. Mirashi has published as those issued by the kings of the so-called Mahisha dynasty, and are now fortunately in a better position to express our opinion on them. The casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of our office, when he visited the Museum in 1959, and we are thankful to him for placing them at our disposal.

Prof. Mirashi has recently discussed, in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116-21, the history of his study of the coins of a ruler whom he calls the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. This story indicates the following stages in the development of his interesting theory about the kings of the Mahisha dynasty.

(I) In 1916, Prof. Mirashi received inked impressions of two coins in the possession of Mr. Hurnus Kaus of Hyderabad and published them in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff. and Plate. The legend on the coins was read and translated by him as follows: *Raṁṣo Saga-Māna-Mahasa(sa*)* (Sanskrit *Rājāṇ Śaka-Māna-Mahisharya*), '[This coin is] of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty.' From the illustration, however, it is quite clear that not only *sa*, put in brackets with an asterisk after *mahasa*, is untraceable on the coins and is admittedly an imaginary addition, but there is also absolutely no trace of the word *raṁṣo* on them.² His interpretation of the legend was influenced by the Puranic passage *Śakyamānābhavad-rājā Mahishyāṇa* (v.l. *Mahishyāṇa*) *mahipatiḥ*. It seems that he corrected *Śakyamānābhavad* to *Śaka-Māna-bhavad*³ and *Mahishyāṇa* or *Mahishyāṇa* to *Mahishyāṇa*. The territory over

¹ Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, 1958, pp. 6 ff.; 116 ff.; 124 ff. Prof. Mirashi's articles on the coins in question are referred to below. Our comments on some of his theories based on these coins were offered earlier in *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 294 ff. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the present article.

² What has been read as *raṁṣo* with the remarks, 'These two akṣaras appear very thin and cramped for want of space', is really a small symbol of six arches (i.e. a six-peaked hill), which is partly rubbed off.

which the Śaka king 'Māna the Mahiśa' ruled was located by him in the region around Māhiśmatī, i.e. modern Mādhātā or Maheshwar on the Narmada. As, however, will be seen below, the letters *mahasa* constitute the first part of the word *Mahāsenāpatava* found on other coins of the same person and therefore the existence of the Mahiśa dynasty has no foundation at all.

(2) In 1949, Prof. Mirashi received photographs of two coins discovered in the course of excavations, the first at Kondapur and the second at Maski, from Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and published them in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.¹ He also published a note on the responsibility of the Śaka kings of the Mahiśa dynasty for the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Cuttack Session, 1949*, pp. 45 ff., as well as in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff. The fragmentary legend on the said two coins from Kondapur and Maski, as he read it, ends with the letters *mahasa* which were taken to stand for Sanskrit *Mahiśa* and he ascribed the Kondapur coin to the same Śaka king 'Māna of the Mahiśa dynasty'. The legend on the Maski coin was read by Prof. Mirashi as *gantas Mahasa(sa)*² which suggested to him a Mahiśa king with his name ending in the word *gantas*, supposed to have been a later member of the family founded by the Mahiśa-Śaka king Māna, though elsewhere he applies the name Yasa to this king.³ On the basis of the discovery of these coins at Kondapur in the Medak District and Maski in the Raichur District, he now suggested that the territory ruled by the kings of the Mahiśa-Śaka dynasty comprised the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, which in his opinion was called Māhahaka in ancient times.⁴ It was also suggested that the said Mahiśa-Śaka house of Southern Hyderabad was an offshoot of the Kahakarāta-Śaka family of Western India. But, as has already been indicated above, *Mahasa*... actually stands for *Mahāsenāpatava*. The dynastic and personal names of the issuer of the coins, which have been misunderstood even though they are quite clear, are being discussed below and it will be seen that they have nothing to do either with the Śakas or with any Mahiśa dynasty.

(3) Two notes were published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-89 and pp. 90-91 with Plates.⁵ The subject of the first of the two notes is a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kani, which bears the legend *Saga-Māna-Chuṭaka*, i.e. 'Māna the Mahiśa' as read and interpreted by Prof. Mirashi. It was now suggested that this Śaka king named Māna-Chuṭaka belonged to the family founded by the Śaka ruler Māna who himself as well as some of his successors (like... *gantas* or *Yasa* referred to above) assumed the dynastic name *Mahasa*-Sanskrit *Mahiśa*. As will be seen below, Prof. Mirashi later regarded *Chuṭaka* as a shortened form of *Chapa-kuta* which is, according to him, an epithet of Śaka Māna, and means 'belonging to the Chuṭa family'.⁶ But we have pointed out elsewhere⁷ that the same Māna could have scarcely been described on some of his coins as 'Māna the Mahiśa' and on others as 'Māna the Chuṭaka (i.e. Chuṭa)'.⁸

¹ The article was reprinted in *Numismatic Series*, No. 3.—'Some Coins of the Mahiśa Dynasty', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, with illustration of the Kondapur and Maski coins as well as the two coins published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII.

² *Numismatic Series*, No. 7.—'Coins of King Samahāgratana from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, p. 2. In our opinion, the reading of what has been read as *gantas* is absolutely uncertain.

³ For our comments on the location of the Mahiśa country in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.

⁴ The coins dealt with in the second note were also published in *Numismatic Series*, No. 8.—'Some More Mahiśa Coins from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950.

⁵ *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 8.

The subject of the second note of Prof. Mirashi is a number of coins on which the complete legend was read by him as *Mahāsenāpatia Rodājī-putasa Saka-Māna Chutukulasa*, with the remarks that sometimes *Senāpatigata* and *Chutuka* occur in the legend instead of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Chutukula* respectively. As a matter of fact, however, the seventh and eighth letters of what actually reads *Mahāsenāpatia Bhāradājī-putasa* (i.e. the letters *sa bha*) were wrongly read as *puta*. But the word *Chutuka* has been rightly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as a shortened form of *Chutukula*, although his interpretation of the expression, as will be seen below, is wrong.

(4) In an article in the same journal, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 113 ff. and Plate, Prof. Mirashi published another coin of the so-called *Mahāsenāpati Saka Māna* from Kondapur, which helped him to correct the reading *Rodājī-puta* of the legend on similar coins, published by him previously and referred to above, to *Bhāradājī-puta* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-putra*). The legend is now read as *Mahāsenāpatia Bhāradājī-putasa Saka-Māna-Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ Bhāradvāja-putrasya Saka-Māna-Chutukulasya*) and translated as '[This coin is] of the *Mahāsenāpati Saka Māna*, the son of *Bhāradvāja*, who is of the *Chutu* family.' It is also suggested that *Saka Māna* had issued these coins earlier when he was a *Mahāsenapati* while his coins bearing the epithet *ramāna* were issued at a later date after his assumption of royal title. Prof. Mirashi further observes, 'In two other respects, these Kondapur coins differ from those found elsewhere. They mention his (i.e. *Saka Māna*'s) family as *Chutu-kula* which is shortened to *Chutuka* in one case (see above, Vol. XII, Pl. VIII, Coin 8). On the other coins, he mentions instead the epithet *Mahasa* (Sanskrit *Mahisha*) derived from the country under his rule. He seems to have been well known as the king of the *Mahishas*.'¹ But, as we have pointed out above, the word *ramāna* does not actually occur on the coins in question. Elsewhere,² we commented on the interpretation of *Saga-Māna-Chutu-kulasa* (Sanskrit *Saka-Māna-Chutukulasya*) as 'of the *Saka Māna* belonging to the *Chutu* family' as quite unsatisfactory. If that was the meaning intended, the passage would have been worded as *Chutu-kulasa Saka-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chutukulasya Saka-Mānasya*) or at least *Chutu-kula-Saga-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chutukula Saka-Mānasya*). There is no instance of the mention of a person and his dynasty in extremely awkward compound expressions like *Saga-Māna-Chutu-kula*, as Prof. Mirashi's interpretation would involve.

There is another interesting fact to which attention of scholars should be drawn in this connection. The occurrence of the epithet *Mahāsenāpatia* on these coins suggests quite clearly that the letters *mahasa* read on the same person's other issues, published by Prof. Mirashi earlier, do not stand for *Mahisa* [sa*] (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*), 'of the *Mahisha*', but for *Mahāsenāpatia* [sa*] (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpateḥ*), 'of the *Mahāsenapati* (i.e. great *Senapati* or commander of forces)'. Considering, however, the arrangements of the words in the passage *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatia* [sa*] on this group of coins as well as the size of both the coins of this group and of the letters in the legend, it appears to us that the full legend here may have been *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatia Chutukulasa* (or *Chutukulasa*) and that the epithet *Bhāradājī-putasa* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-putrasya*), 'of one who is the son of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Bhāradvāja gotra*', may have been omitted for the sake of space. In any case, it is clear that the flans of these coins were considerably smaller than the die. As will be seen below, what Prof. Mirashi takes to be *Saga-Māna* (i.e. *Saka-Māna*) we are inclined to take as *Sagamāna* (i.e. *Sagamānam*), 'of the *Sagamas* (i.e. belonging to the *Sagama* family)'.

In our opinion, Coin No. 1, the inked rubbing of which has been published in *Nismatiatic Series*, No. 8, Plate I, reads *Bhāradājī* and not *Bhāradāja* and the legend fully preserved on Coin

¹ Op. cit., p. 117.

² JNSI, Vol. XVIII, p. 3.

No. 5 on the same Plate¹ and incompletely on some others read *Mahasenapati Bhāradāji-putasa Sagamāsa Chutukulasa*. The natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpati Bhāradāji-putasya Sagamāsa Chutukulasya* and to translate it as '[This coin is] of Mahāsenāpati Bhāradāji-putra Chutukula of the Sagamas (i.e. belonging to the Sagama dynasty)'. *Sagamāsa Chutukula* may be compared to numerous such passages occurring in early South Indian inscriptions, e.g., *Pallavāya Sivakāṇḍavarma* (Sanskrit *Pallavānā Sivasāṇḍavarmā*). 'Śivaskandavarman of the Pallava family', occurring in the Hirahadagalli plates.² Whether *Sagama* is a Dravidian name or stands for Sanskrit *Saigama* or *Saṅgrāma* cannot be determined, although these are familiar personal names,³ easily applicable to families, and the medieval Saigama dynasty (1336-1455 A.D.) of Vijayanagara is well-known to us.

The language of the passage also shows beyond doubt that *Chutukula* here has to be taken as a personal name. There is certainly no other satisfactory explanation of the passage. To some of our readers, however, *Chutukula* as a personal name would appear rather awkward, since the word *kula* forming its second part means 'a family' in Sanskrit. Of course, Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises *Rājakula-bhāṭṭa* occurring in the *Kathāsuritaṅgara* as the personal name of a poet. But there is reason to believe that, just as *Māhira-kula* was Sanskritised from Persian *Mihrgul*, *Chutukula* is likewise the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian personal name.

We have certain coins found in the Karwar region, some of which bear the legend *Rāṭa Chutukadānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king Chutukadānanda', and others with the legend *Rāṭa Muḍānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king Muḍānanda', although both the groups are exactly similar in type.⁴ There is absolutely no doubt that these coins were issued by two rulers (apparently related to each other) whose personal names were Chutukadānanda and Muḍānanda. There also cannot be any doubt that the personal name *Chutukadānanda* occurs in its Sanskrit garb as *Chutukulānanda* in the name of Hārīti-putra Viṣṇukāḍa-Chutukulānanda-Sātakarṇi of an inscription⁵ from Banavāsi and of Hārīti-putra Viṣṇukāḍa-Chutukulānanda-Sātakarṇi of another inscription⁶ from Malavalli. We have seen above that coins, wrongly attributed by Prof. Mirashi to king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty, represent the personal name of the issuer in some cases as *Chutukula* and in others in a shortened form as *Chutuka* which is the same as *Chuta* with the *svārthika* suffix *ka* added to it.⁷ This fact would suggest that *Chutukula*, the Sanskritised form of Dravidian *Chutukada*, was another slightly shortened form of the personal name *Chutukadānanda-Chutukulānanda*. It is of course difficult to say whether *ānanda*, the third element in the name, is also the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian word. But that personal names with this element were popular in certain areas of the Deccan, seems to be suggested by names like *Muḍānanda* found on the Karwar coins referred to above and *Viṣṇuśrīnāṭhulānanda-Sātakarṇi* of *Vanavāsa* (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore) mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscription⁸ of the time of the Ābhīra king Vasuśreya.

¹ This is the same as Coin No. 6 in Plate VIII of *JNSI*, Vol. XII.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 437.

³ Bhattacharya's List, Nos. 123, 1557, 1560, etc.

⁴ Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., pp. lxxviii-lxxxiv, 59-60, Plate VIII, Nos. G.P. 2, 235, G.P. 3, and Nos. 236, G.P. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxxi, No. 22; *Liders' List*, No. 1186; above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 239 ff.

⁶ Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. li; *Liders' List*, No. 1195.

⁷ The addition of this suffix is quite common in early epigraphic records.

⁸ *Indian Archaeology 1958-59*, p. 8; above Vol. XXXIV, p. 187.

The above discussions will make it clear that whatever has been said during the past decade about the existence of kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty and their rule over the southern part of the old Hyderabad State, on the basis of the erroneous reading and interpretation of the coin legends dealt with above, is entirely without any foundation.

Chutukula, who issued the coins discussed above and enjoyed the official designation *Mahā-senāpati*, seems to have been the military governor of a district or its subdivision within the dominions of some king who cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. It appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Śātavāhana power was fast declining. The issue of coins by such subordinate rulers is illustrated by certain coins bearing the legend *Sadākana-Kaṭalāya-mahārāṣṭra* (Sanskrit *Sātakarṇi-Kaṭalāya-mahārāṣṭriya*).¹ [This coin is] of Sātakarṇi-Kaṭalāya, the *Mahārāṣṭrin*.² The official designation *Mahārāṣṭrin* means 'the great *Rāṣṭrin* or the ruler of a *rāṣṭra*', i.e. 'a chief of the *Rāṣṭrins*', and *rāṣṭra* means a group of villages or the subdivision of a district. The word *rāṣṭra* reminds us of the designation *Rāṣṭrakūṭa*, 'head of a *rāṣṭra*', coined on the analogy of *Gramakūṭa*, 'head of a *grama* or village'.³ Another similar designation is *Rāṣṭramahattara* mentioned along with *Grāmanmahattara*.⁴

In this connection reference may be made to certain other coins published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. In a small note in Vol. XV, p. 120 and plate, he published a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad. In the fragmentary legend on the coin, Prof. Mirashi could not read anything besides the letters *śivala maha* which induced him to attribute the issue to a Mahisha king named Śivala. We, however, consider the suggestion absolutely unwarranted. In the first place, he admits the existence of a letter like *ka* before *śi*. Thus the name may have been one ending in *śivala* as in the case of Viṣṇupurudī-śivalakṛāṇḍa-Sātakarṇi of a Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above. Secondly, the two letters *maha* may suggest anything like *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāṣṭrin*, *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalaçara*,⁵ etc., and there is no reason to confine ourselves to *Mahisha* even if such an epithet was known from epigraphic and numismatic records. But, as we have shown above, *Mahisha* does not occur in the legend of any Indian coin so far discovered.

¹ Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-39. Rapson also offered the alternative suggestion that *Sadākana* stands for Sanskrit *Sātākāṇḍa* from *Sātaka* and drew our attention to the personal names *śrī-Sāta* and *Śkandarāga-Sātaka* (*op. cit.*, p. xxxii). The expression *Sātākāṇḍa* means 'of the Sātakas', i.e. 'belonging to the Sātaka family or people'. It is interesting in this connection to note that, while most versions of Rock Edict II of Aśoka speak of *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*, 'the king of the Satiyas or Sātiyas' side by side with *Keralā-puta*, 'the king of the Keralas' the Erragudi version has *Satika-puta* for *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*. It is well known that *Keralā-puta*-Sanskrit *Keralā-putra*, literally 'the son of the Keralas', occurs in the form *Kerobothra* in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as well as in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny to indicate 'the king of the Keras (Keralas)'. See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 8, note 1. The original form of the name of the other people in question seems to have been *Sātika* or *Sāntika*. The land of the king called *Satiya-puta*-*Sātiya-puta*-*Satika-puta* is often located to the north of the territory of *Keralā-puta* in the Malayalam-speaking area, not very far away from the Chitaldrug region of Mysore where the coins of *Sadākana Kaṭalāya-mahārāṣṭri* were found. It is therefore not impossible that the *Mahārāṣṭri* was a scion of the ancient race called *Satiya*-*Sātiya*-*Sātika* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Sadākana* would in that case stand for *Sātākāṇḍa* or *Sāntikāṇḍa*, 'of the Sātika or Sāntika race'.

² *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* is mentioned in records like the Ellora plates of Daṇḍidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 23 ff.). *Rāṣṭrin* is the same as *Rāṣṭra*-Prakrit *Rāṣṭhika* of records like the Hirahadagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.).

³ Cf. *Rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara* in the Kavi plates in *Jud. Ast.*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff.

⁴ For coins issued by a *Mahātalaçara* or a *Talaçara* whose name ended in *maha* (i.e. the Sanskrit *śaka*),

⁵ *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 117 ff.

Another note on a few coins discovered at Kondapur was published by Prof. Mirashi in the same journal, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 92-93 and Plate, as well as in *Numismatic Series*, No. 7—'Coins of King Sumahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, pp. 1-2 and Plate. The legend on these coins has been made out and interpreted by him as *Samahagrāmaka maha...* (Sanskrit *Samahāgrāmakasya maha...*). '[This coin is] of Sumahāgrāmaka. Maha...' We are indeed thankful to him that he was not inclined to regard the letters *maha* at the end of the legend to stand for *Mahāsara* (Sanskrit *Mahāśasya*) and Sumahāgrāmaka as another king of the so-called Mahisha dynasty of Southern Hyderabad.

On an examination of the plaster casts of these coins, we find that the correct reading of the legend is *Mahagrāmaka Māthari-putra...sa* (Sanskrit *Mahāgrāmikasya Māthari-putrosya...sya*). '[This coin is] of Mahāgrāmaka Māthari-putra...' The personal name of the Mahāgrāmika is unfortunately not preserved in any of the specimens. *Mahagrāmika* means 'the great *Grāmika* (the headman of a village), i.e., a chief of the *Grāmkas*', or 'the head of a *mahagrāma*'. The word *mahagrāma* is known from South Indian records to mean a group of villages like the *vāhja*.¹ *Mahagrāmika* was therefore an official designation similar to *Rāshtrakūṭa Rāshtrakamahattara*, *Rāshtrin* and *Rāshtrika*. In the Nagarjunikonda inscription of the time of Ābhira Vasuśeṣa, Kumāri-putra Śivalopa of the Perihidola family is endowed with the designations *Mahagrāmika*, *Mahātakvara* and *Mahāśaṅkṣanāyaka*.² The designation *Mahagrāmika* reminds us of the officer entitled *Dahagrāmika* who was apparently a *Grāmika* having jurisdiction over ten villages.³ It appears that *Mahagrāma* was a territorial unit like *Dahagrāma*.

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 148 ff.

² *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 303.

³ *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, 7 p. 19, where *Mahagrāmika* has been alternatively interpreted as 'an inhabitant of Mahagrāma'.

⁴ For the *Dahagrāmika*, see *Gandakīkāmālā*, p. 16, text line 47 (*yathā-kāśī-adhyakṣiṇā Jyeshthakāśīgana-Mahāmahattara Mahattara Dahagrāmika-Adi-śaṅkṣa-eyamāyaka*); cf. also *JAS Letters*, Vol. XVII, p. 82.

APPENDIX I

Coins wrongly assigned to the so-called Mahisha Kings

A. COINS OF MAHĀSENĀPATI BHĀRADVĀJĪPUTRA CHUTUKA OR CHUTUKULA OF THE SĀGAMA DYNASTY

Type I.—Elephant¹ : Ujjayini² Symbol³ ; Copper

Obverse :—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right ; *Sevastika* above the back of the elephant ; legend around in thick characters : *Sagamāna Mahā[senāpatia]*....

Reverse :—Ujjayini symbol with orbs having each a pellet in double circle ; *Sevastika* between each pair of orbs.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure A ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-2.]

Size—squarish, 1" × .9" ; weight—130 grains ; Legend—... *sagamāna Mahā[se]*....

2. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure B ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-1.]

Size—rectangular, .95" × .75" (thick) ; Weight—180 grains ; Legend—*Sagamāna [Ma]*.... There is a six-peaked hill symbol near the end of the elephant's tail.⁴

Type II.—*Sevastika*⁵ : Thunderbolt and Arrow ; Lead and Copper

Obverse :—*Sevastika* and legend around : *Mahāsenāpatia Bhāradajāputara Sāgamāna Chutukara* (or *Chutukulana*).

Reverse :—In pellet border, thunderbolt with arrow pointed downwards on right or left.

Variety A-1 : Lead, Squarish

Class I : Issuer's name—*Chutu*....

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 2 ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 1.]

Size—.9" × .8" ; Weight—115 grains ; Legend—... *[ha]sanāpatia Bhāradajā-putara Sāgamāna Ch[u]*... ; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 4 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 4.]

Size—.8" × .75" ; Weight—128 grains ; Legend—... *Bhāradāja-putara Sāgamāna*... ; arrow probably to the left of the thunderbolt.

3. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 5 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—.75" × .75" ; Weight—112 grains ; Legend—... *putara Bhāradāja-putara Sāgamāna*... ; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

Class II : Issuer's name—*Chutuka*

¹ The Ujjayini symbol connects this type with Type III below.

² This symbol has been wrongly regarded by Prof. Mitashi as the word *ramāna*.

³ The *Sevastika* connects this type with Type III below.

4. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 3; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 2.]

Size— $9^{\circ} \times .65^{\circ}$; Weight—77 grains; Legend—...[ta]sa [Bha]radaja-putasa Sagamāna Chutukasa; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

5. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 8; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 7.]

Size— $7^{\circ} \times .7^{\circ}$; Weight—80 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[putasa]...[puta]sa Sagamāna Chutakasa; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

Variety B-1: Lead, Round—big; Issuer's name—Chutukula

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 6; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size— 1.8° in diameter; Weight—458 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[putasa] [Bharada]ja-puta[sa] Sagamāna Chutukulasa; the arrow is obliterated.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 115, Plate VI, Nos. 1-2.]

Size— 1.7° in diameter; Weight—461 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[putasa] Bharadaja-putasa Sagamāna Chutukulasa.

Variety B-2: Copper, Round—small; Issuer's name—lost.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 8, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 8.]

Size— $.8^{\circ}$ in diameter; Weight—80 grains; Legend—...[Bha]radaja-putasa Sa[ga]....; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

Type III.—Svastika: : Ujjayini Symbol¹; Lead, Round

Obverse:—Svastika and partially preserved legend around: ...[sa] Bharadaja-putasa [Sagamā]na....

Reverse:—Ujjayini symbol as on Type 1, but with crescent above.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 7; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 6.]

Size— $.75^{\circ}$ in diameter; Weight—115 grains.

Type IV.—Lion: : Ten-peaked Hill²; Lead, Round

Obverse:—Lion³ to right with tail hanging down; Svastika above the back of the lion; a symbol looking like tree-in-railling to the left of Svastika; Legend—...Ma[hata]....

Reverse:—In double-lined square, ten-peaked hill with a dot in each of the curves surmounted by a crescent which is flanked by what looks like ploughs.

¹ The size is quoted by Prof. Mirashi differently as $.65^{\circ} \times .85^{\circ}$ in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90. It is difficult to say which of the two quotations is correct.

² The Svastika connects this type with Type II and the Ujjayini symbol with Type I above.

³ The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuer of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

⁴ Prof. Mirashi regards the animal as a horse.

ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS



1



2



3

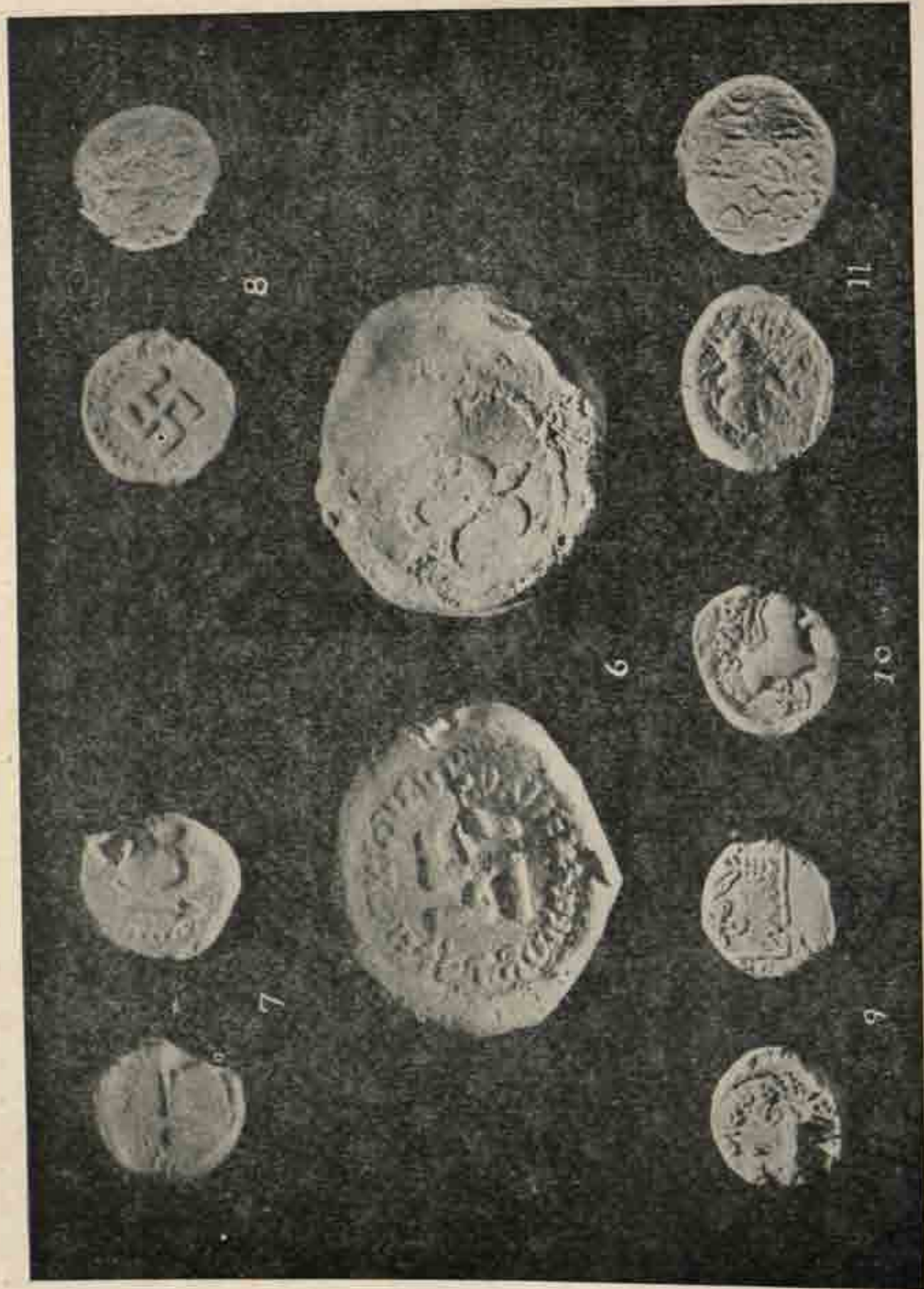


4



5





(from Photograph)

1. Hyderabad Museum (from the Maski excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 2, Plate II, No. 10 *Numismatic Series*, No. 3; p. 5, Plate II, figure a-2.]

Size—1.05" in diameter; Weight—210 grains; Legend—.....*Maha[sa]*.....¹

B. COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO CHUTUKA-CHUTUKULA

Type V.—Lion² : Ujjayini Symbol ; Lead, Roundish

Obverse :—Lion with upraised tail to left; legend above—.....*Maharashisa* (l).....³

Reverse :—Ujjayini symbol with a pellet in each orb.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Plate II, p. 1; No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, p. 1, Plate II, figure a-1.]

Size—.75" in diameter; Weight—72.5 grains.

Type VI.—Crescent : Six-peaked Hill ; Lead, Roundish

Obverse :—Crescent. Legend (to be read from the outer side) around—.....*Sivalasa⁴ mala*.....⁵

Reverse :—Similar to the reverse device of Type IV; but the hill is six-peaked.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad: *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 120, Plate VI, Nos. 6-7.]

Size—.85" in diameter; Weight—54 grains.

APPENDIX II

Coins of Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula

Among the coins in the Hyderabad Museum, of which plaster casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, there is one bearing the standing lion on the obverse and the tree-in-railing and Ujjayini symbols on the reverse as well as the legend *Mahārāshisa Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahārāshṭrīgaḥ Chutukulasaya*). [This coin is] of *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula*. From the specimen examined, it is not possible to say whether an expression like *Sagamāna* has been cut off before *Mahārāshisa*. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine whether *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* of this coin is identical with *Mahāsenāpati Bhāradvāja-putra Chutuka* or *Chutukula* of the Sagama dynasty, whose coins have been discussed above. The identification is, however, not totally precluded by the difference in the official designations *Mahārāshṭrin* and *Mahāsenāpati* since the same person often enjoyed more than one such designation and, as we have seen above, a subordinate of the Ābhira king Vasudeva is known from a Nāgārjunikonda inscription to have enjoyed three official designations at a time, viz. *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādanda-nāyaka*. There are innumerable cases of this kind in later inscriptions.

Another coin of a similar type in the same collection bears the imperfect legend *Mahārāshisa* and may have been issued by *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* referred to above. A third coin in the

¹ Prof. Mirashi reads: *sa(i)ṣ(i) ... yasaḥ Mahāsana* and assigns the coin to a person named*yaśaḥ* or *Yāśa* of the so-called Mahishia dynasty.

² The lion connects this type with Type V while the six-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the legends of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

³ Prof. Mirashi reads the legend as*sa Mahāsana* (sa) and assigns the coin to the so-called Mīmā Mahishia.

⁴ The name of the issuer of this coin is probably not *Sivala* but ends in *la*.

⁵ It is difficult to say whether this stands for *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārājā* or any other similar official designation beginning with *mahā*.

same collection bears the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and the representation of a six-peaked hill, a *svastika* and the Ujjayini symbol on the reverse. Only three *aksharas* of the legend on this coin are clear and they read . . . *kalasa*, probably the latter part of the expression *Chutukulasa*. It is, however, not possible to say from the specimen at our disposal whether the legend mentioned Chutukula as *Mahāsenāpati* or as *Mahārāṣṭra*.

Type I.—Lion to left : Ujjayini Symbol etc.; Lead

Obverse:—In incused area, lion with upraised tail standing to left; circular legend—*Mahārāṣṭra Chutukulasa*.

Reverse:—In a square enclosure, symbols, of which only three are seen on the flan, viz. a zig-zag line, above which on the left is an Ujjayini symbol with a dot in each orb and, on the right, a tree-in-railing.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .8 inch in diameter; Legend—[*Mahāra*][*hisa*][*Ch*][*u*][*kulasa*].

2. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .9 inch in diameter; Weight—74 grains; Legend—*Mahara*[*hi*][*sa*]

The reverse is blurred.

Type II.—Bull to left : Ujjayini Symbol, etc.; Lead

Obverse: In an incused area, humped bull to right; Legend— . . . *Chutukulasa*.

Reverse:—In a square enclosure, six-peaked hill, to the left of which is a *svastika* and, to the right, portion of an Ujjayini symbol; above the *svastika* is a partially preserved undefinable symbol.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—round, .55 inch in diameter; Weight—127.9 grains; Legend—(to the right) . . . *kalasa*.

No. 9—BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.6.1960)

Only eight inscriptions written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head (sometimes, wedge-head) characters, prevalent among the Buddhist monks of the eastern regions of North India during the early medieval period, especially at Uddandapura (modern Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar), have so far been discovered. Out of them, the following six have already been edited with illustration: (1) Gayā (Bihar) image inscription published by C. Bendal in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78, and by R. D. Banerji in the *Vaṅgiya Sahitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.;¹ (2) the Kara (near Allahabad, U. P.) inscription published by N. P. Chakravarti in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39; and (3-6) three image inscriptions from Uren (Monghyr District, Bihar) and one from the Malka (West Bengal) B. R. Sen Museum, published by me, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220-26. The seventh Bhaikshuki inscription, which was found at Uren and is extremely damaged, was also noticed by me while editing the four inscriptions referred to above.² The eighth inscription in the Bhaikshuki script, which remains as yet unpublished, was found on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription, the findspot of which is not stated,³ was examined by both R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti although that did not lead to the publication of the record. When I edited the Bhaikshuki inscriptions from Uren and the Malka Museum, I was also eager to publish this epigraph. But my attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum proved unsuccessful.⁴ Recently I found two impressions of the inscription in N. P. Chakravarti's files preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. On an examination of these impressions, I realised the reason why this well-known epigraph, which is the biggest Bhaikshuki inscription ever discovered, has remained so far unpublished. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to read and interpret and the reading of some of the letters is doubtful. Since, however, the number of Bhaikshuki inscriptions as yet discovered and published is not too many, I considered it necessary to bring it to the notice of scholars especially in view of the fact that the image bearing the record is not easily traceable. I therefore venture to publish my views on the reading and interpretation of the inscription in the following pages for whatever they may be worth. Students of Indian epigraphy are welcome to improve upon my transcript and translation of the record.

The engraving of the inscription on the pedestal of the image of Jambhala is not carefully done and its preservation is also unsatisfactory in a few places. The record is engraved in three sections, the entire inscribed area being about 8½ inches in length and 3½ inches in height and individual letters each about ½ inch high. There are altogether nine lines of writing in the inscription. Lines 1-2 and 6-9 run through all the three sections while lines 3-5, which are very small, are engraved in the third section only. This is because engraving was not possible in the space to the left of lines 3-5. For a similar reason, the gap between lines 1 and 2 is more than between

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³ The Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, informs me that the image, noticed and illustrated in Foucher's *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 123 and figure 20 at p. 124, and in R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 39, Plate XVIc, was secured from Ghoshkundī (near Kiul in the Monghyr District, Bihar).

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 6.

any two other lines of writing in the epigraph. A small piece of stone appears to have broken away from the lower left end of the pedestal even before the incision of the record. This seems to be indicated by the last three lines of the inscription, each of which begins from a greater distance from the left margin than the previous line.

The characters of the record are similar to the Üren and Maida Museum inscriptions referred to above. But its palaeographical importance lies in the use of a few signs (e.g. \oint in line 8 and initial \oint in line 9) not noticed in other epigraphs. The language of the major part of the record may be regarded as Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit, though a sentence in lines 7-8 is in fairly correct Sanskrit.

The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the image on which it is engraved. It begins with a symbol for *siddham*. The first half of the inscription from the beginning of line 1 to the middle of line 6 offers the same two stanzas of the Buddhist formula that constitutes the text of the Üren inscriptions Nos. 2-3 and the main part of that of the Üren inscription No. 1, with negligible variations.¹ It reads as follows after the corrections of scribal errors:

Bhagavā ācuso² pañcikasamuppāda-dhammanā deventi [\oint]

pañcikasamuppannānāṃ cā dhommānāṃ yo nirodho ||

Ye dhammā hetu-prabhavā teṣāṃ hetuḥ Tathāgato avachā [\oint]

teṣāṃ cā yo nirodho evam-vādī Mahāśīlamano ||

Although some letters here and there in this part are either damaged or badly formed, there is no difficulty about the reading and interpretation of this section. But most parts of the latter half of the epigraph are beset with difficulties.

After the two stanzas quoted above, there are three sections of writing in the inscription, each of which ends with a double *dayda* and may be regarded as a sentence. The first of the sections seems to read: *Śrī-Saṃyya-mṭu(suta)-mahārāja-Śrī-Pūrṇapadī(cī)hrama-kshā(kshā)-dhīpati* [\oint]. 'The illustrious *Mahārāja Pūrṇavikrama*, son of the illustrious *Saṃyya*, is the lord of the earth (i. e. the ruling king)'. This apparently refers to the ruler of the territory in which the image of Jambhala bearing the inscription under study was installed.

The second section seems to read: *Śrī-Sīḥanīgāsāṃ(yām) bhaddanta-Jayasena-sya deya-dharmayash*. 'This (i. e. the image bearing the inscription) is the religious gift of the Venerable *Jayasena* at *Sīrhanāgā*.' The word *bhaddanta* was used as an epithet of Buddhist monks. This section refers to a Buddhist monk named *Jayasena* who set up the image at a place called *Sīrhanāgā* no doubt for worship. It appears that there was a Buddhist monastery at *Sīrhanāgā* and that the image was installed in the said monastery. It is not impossible that *Sīrhanāgā* was the headquarters of *Pūrṇavikrama*'s territory.

The third section, which is even more difficult than the previous two sentences, seems to read: *Kārttika-māsam Gauḍarāja-arjyaṃ samatā 70(1)-māṣā thāitāṃ*, probably meaning, '[It is] installed in the month of *Kārttika* of the 70th year belonging to the new era of the *Gauḍa* king'. In this passage, the reading of the symbol looking like superscript *dh* joined to subscript *tt* is doubtful, although it has some resemblance with the numerical symbol for 70 which was written in early epigraphs as *pṭa* and in medieval records often as *vū*, *chū*, *thū*, etc. The word *samatā*, probably a scribal error for *samantā* or *samattā*, seems to be the same as Sanskrit *samant* which is known to have been used in inscriptions in various corrupt forms such as *saṃmant*, *samanta*, *samantū*, *saṃantū*, *saṃmat*, *saṃat*, *saṃanta*, *saṃta*, *saṃatta*, *saṃanta*, *saṃastā*, *saṃamāthū*, *smat*, etc.³ But we

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 234.

² Macron over *s* and *o* has not been used in this article.

³ See *IRQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 323.

have no other instance in which a year of the date of an inscription is qualified by a word like *arjya* which is meaningless. It is possible to think that the intended reading is *a-pūrvya*, 'not of old', probably meaning that the year referred to was developed out of a recent regnal reckoning and not an old established era like the Vikrama-samvat. I am sorry that I cannot offer any better reading and interpretation of the passage.

We know that some epigraphic and literary records of the Gayā region of Bihar belonging to the twelfth century A.D. refer to certain dates of the first few decades of the *arjya-rājya*, *gata-rājya* or *vinashita-rājya* of Govindapāya while the years of the well-known Lakshmapasena samvat, also originated in the same area, are usually referred to the *arjya-rājya* of Lakshmapasena, sometimes mentioned with the title *Gaudeśvara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa.' It is not impossible that our inscription actually refers to the year 70 of the Lakshmapasena-samvat which, as we have suggested elsewhere, seems to have been originally counted from the accession of the Sena king Lakshmapasena in c. 1179 A.D., although, apparently owing to some confusion, it came to be counted later in North Bihar from various dates between 1108 and 1119 A.D.¹ Thus the inscription under study, probably dated in the year 70 may perhaps be assigned to c. 1249 A.D.

If our inscription is referred to a date about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and the image was secured by the Indian Museum from some locality in Bihar, king Pūrṇavikrama was apparently a small ruler of the area in question since Bihar is claimed to have been conquered by the Turkish Muslims about the end of the twelfth century. The existence of some such rulers in South Bihar during the thirteenth century is known to us. An inscription² from Jāmbhigā near Bodhagayā in the Gaya district of Bihar, dated in the Lakshmapasena year 83 (probably 1261 A.D.), mentions 'the king (*bhūpati*) *Āchārya* Jayasena, the lord of Pīthī (*Pīthīpati*)' and this Jayasena, was the son of Buddhasena who is apparently identical with '*Āchārya* Buddhasena, the lord of Pīthī,' known from an undated inscription³ from Mshābodhi (Bodhagayā). There is little doubt that the word *pīthī*, in the title *Pīthīpati* borne by these rulers, is the same as *pīṭha*⁴ and indicates the Vajrasana at Bodhagayā, which is believed to have been the seat of the Buddha while he was meditating for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. The title *Āchārya*, additionally borne by the rulers, was an epithet of a teacher or monk and may indicate their sacerdotal character. It may suggest that the said two rulers were the heads of the great Buddhist monastery at Bodhagayā and the superintendents of its property like the later *Mahanta* *Mahārājas*.⁵ But if they were monks, Jayasena could not have been a real son of Buddhasena but was merely a disciple of the latter.⁶ There is, however, some difficulty in accepting the suggestion.

It should be pointed out that a manuscript of the Buddhist works *Pacharakaṣā* is known to have been copied in Śaka 1211 (1289 A.D.) during the reign of a ruler named Madhusena who enjoyed the designations *Paramēśvara*, *Paramasāngata*, *Paramamahārājādhirāja* and *Gaudeśvara* and, though not called *Āchārya* and *Pīthīpati*, may have been a descendant of Buddhasena and Jayasena.⁷ It should, moreover, be noted that an earlier 'lord of Pīthī' known from epigraphic and literary sources, was certainly not a genuine monk. The Sārnāth inscription⁸ of Kumāradevī,

¹ *JHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21 ff.; *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, pp. 372-73.

² *Jal. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 47; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1469.

³ *Jal. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 45; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1740.

⁴ The feminine form *pīṭhī* is sometimes found in literary and epigraphic works. See Mouier-Williams, *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s. v.; above, Vol. V, p. 13, line 14.

⁵ For this suggestion, see *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

⁶ For the representation of a disciple as the son of his preceptor, see Bhandarkar's List, p. 25, note 1. Cf. the expression *ajja-guru*: Sanskrit *arya-guru*, 'a grandfather-preceptor' (above, Vol. V, p. 230).

⁷ Cf. *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, pp. 23 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 324 ff.

queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), mentions her father Devarakshita of the Chhikkora family of lunar race as the successor of the latter's father Vallabharāja as 'the lord of Piṭhi (or Pithirā),' and her mother Śaṅkarādevī as the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Mathana (Mathana) of Aḍga (East Bihar), who is known to have been the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1195-1235 A.D.).¹ The same Piṭhipati Devarakshita is mentioned in the commentary of Samiḥyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* as vanquished by Mathana and the commentary explains the designation as *Magadhādhipa*, 'lord of Magadha'.² The commentary on the *Rāmacharita* also equates Piṭhipati with *Magadhādhipati* elsewhere³ while describing Bhīmāyasa who was a feudatory of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.) and helped his overlord in overthrowing the Kaivarta king Bhīma of Varendri (North Bengal). This Bhīmāyasa seems to be a later member of the family of Devarakshita. It also appears that these Piṭhipatis of the Chhikkora-Chhinda family were succeeded by the line represented by Buddhasena and Jayasena. Thus Buddhasena and Jayasena who were apparently ruling over parts of Bihar with their headquarters at Bodhgayā and had some relations with the management of the Buddhist monastery therein cannot be regarded as Buddhist monks merely because they are called Piṭhipati.

As regards the title *Āchārya*, it may be pointed out that a fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription⁴ seems to represent one Jayasena as the *āchārya* of a Chhinda chief named Pūṣpabhadra. If this Jayasena is identified with the homonymous son of Buddhasena,⁵ we may suggest that the members of his family were hereditary *Āchāryas* (i.e. teachers or preceptors) of the Chhinda rulers who probably dedicated their territory to their *Āchāryas*. This is not impossible in view of the well-known instance of the dedication of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripurī in favour of their guru, the Śaiva saint Vāmadeva or Vāmasambhu.⁶ If such was the case, the epithet *Āchārya* borne by Buddhasena and Jayasena is probably explained. The manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣit* may suggest that the use of this title was given up by the later members of the Sena family. The above suggestion further explains why the Chhinda ruling family was not extirpated but was merely shadowed by the Sena *Āchāryas* just as the ministers of the kings of Nepal shadowed

¹ The marriage between the houses of Rāshtrakūṭa Mathana and Chhikkora Devarakshita is interesting because both the families hailed from the Kannada country. Devarakshita is called *Sindhurāja* in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, II, 8, and we know that the Kannada family name *Chhinda* or *Shinda* was often Sanskritised as *Sindha* and associated with the Sindhu or Indus (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 216). For the Sindhas of South India who claimed both Nāga and Sindhu origin, see *Bon. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 572 ff.; above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.; Sewell's List, pp. 392-93, etc., and for the Chhindas of Madhya Pradesh who claimed only the Nāga origin, see *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff. The Chhindas of Gayā claimed the Sindhu origin and descent from the lunar race. The Madhya Pradesh and Gayā branches of the family may have left Karkātaka when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion is probably supported by the history of another Chhinda family of North India known from the Dawal (Pilibhit District, U. P.) inscription of Ialla, son of Mathana from the latter's wife Anahitā of the Chhikkora (i.e. Chhikkora) family, probably a ruling house of Kannada origin. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 82; cf. in addition to the reference cited therein, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345 and note 15. The Dawal inscription, which also mentions Mathana's elder brother Bhūbhaga and father Valdevrasman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (1002 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chhindas of Pilibhit claim descent from the sage Chyavana and do not refer to their Nāga or Sindhu origin probably because they left their original home at a still earlier date.

² II, verse 8; cf. Ray, *BHNI*, Vol. I, p. 338. The Sāmānt inscription calls Mathana 'the venerable maternal uncle of kings' because his elder's son Rāmapāla was a king and the latter's two brothers, viz. Mahipāla II and Śaṅkapa II, also were his predecessors on the Pāla throne, although Mahipāla II may have been his step-brother.

³ II, verse 8.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 143.

⁵ Cf. *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 46 ff.

their royal masters in the recent past.¹ A Bodhgayā inscription² dated in the Buddhasena year 1813 (1270 A.D.) mentions a contemporary Chhinda ruler of the Gayā region and points to the fact that the house continued to flourish considerably after the time of Buddhasena since the Jambhikā inscription of the latter's son Jayasena bears the date 1261 A.D. The fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription referred to above, which appears to mention Jayasena as the *āchārya* of the Chhinda ruler Pārnabhadra, mentions the following predecessors of the latter: Vallabharāja, born in the Chhinda family in the Sindhu country; his son Deśarāja; his son Āyichoha (Ādiya); his son...; his son Saṅgha; ...his son Dharma; his son Sāmanta; and his son Pārnabhadra. The identification of this Vallabharāja with theonymous father of Devarakṣita as suggested by J. C. Ghosh³ is not improbable since the former flourished about two centuries before 1270 A.D. while the son of the latter was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.).

That, like Devarakṣita and Bhīmayaśas, Buddhasena and Jayasena were also regarded as the kings of Magadha and not as mere pontiffs of the Bodhgayā monastery is suggested by Tibetan evidence which further indicates that the *Piṭhipati Āchāryas* of the Sena family had their capital at Bodhgayā. A Tibetan monk named Chos-rje-dpal or Dharmasvāmin is known to have met Buddhasena, described as the king of Magadha and as residing at (i.e. having his capital at) Vajrasana (i.e. Bodhgayā), in the rainy season of 1234 A.D. According to this monk, Buddhasena, who was a Buddhist, fled from his capital at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat soon after the danger was over. When the king was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant and saw Dharmasvāmin amongst the spectators, he got down to greet the latter with the words, "Salutations to the son of the Buddha."⁴

Thus we see that Buddhasena was ruling in 1234 A.D. while his son Jayasena, as seen above, flourished in 1261 A.D., apparently over considerable areas of South Bihar, when the Turkish Muslims were already in occupation probably of the central regions of Bihar along the banks of the Ganges and were trying to subjugate the local rulers of the area. If our inscription is assigned to 1219 A.D. which falls between the dates of Buddhasena and Jayasena, king Pārnabhadra mentioned in it cannot be regarded as a scion of the family of the *Piṭhipati* Senas of Bodhgayā. He may, however, be the same as Pārnabhadra of the Chhinda family who is known to have been a contemporary of Jayasena, the latter probably being his own *āchārya*, as seen above. But, in that case, the doubtful name of his father has to be regarded as wrongly written. *Bhādanṭa* Jayasena of our inscription, who was a Buddhist monk, cannot possibly be identified with Buddhasena's son Jayasena who was the lord of Piṭhi.

If the rulers of the Chhinda family and the *Piṭhipati Āchāryas* of the Sena dynasty were flourishing side by side in parts of Bihar at the same time, as suggested above, we have to think of the relations that existed between them. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact position in the present state of insufficient information. But it may be that the Chhindas, who may have originally had their capital at Bodhgayā, repaired to Sindhavāgā when their Sena *Āchāryas* became *Piṭhipatis* with their headquarters at Bodhgayā, and began to rule over a small territory around their new capital probably far away from Bodhgayā.

¹ N. G. Majumdar regarded Buddhasena as a member of the Chhinda family which, in his opinion, ousted the Chhikora dynasty represented by Devarakṣita (*Jal. As.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 46). But the suggestion seems to be wrong.

² *Jal. As.*, Vol. X, p. 343, verse 11; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1429.

³ *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 35. Ghosh also suggested that *Deśarāja* may be a mistake for *Devurāja*, i. e., *Devarakṣita*. Can it be conjectured that Bhīmayaśas was his grandson whose name is lost?

⁴ J. N. Banerjee *Folent*, pp. 111-12; G. Koziol, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, pp. 64-65, cf. also p. 90, D. 613/60.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription under study is Sirinhanāgā where the Buddhist monk Jayasena installed the Jambhala image during the rule of Pūrṣavikrama. It appears to be the early name of Ghoshikupṭi where the image bearing the epigraph was found. It is interesting in this connection to note that an inscription,¹ recently discovered at Arma near Kajra, about 10 miles from Ghoshikupṭi, and dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanapāla, (i.e. c. 1157 A.D.), refers to the rule of *Pīṭhi-paty-Āchārya* Devasena, apparently a predecessor of Buddhasena.

TEXT*

- 1 [A] Siddham* [[*] Bhagavā āvuso paṭichhasamu[pp]ā- [B] [da]-dhammā de- [C] āita* [[*] paṭi-
- 2 [A] chhasamu[ppa]nnānāhi cha dhammānāhi cha* yo nirodho || [B] ye dhammā [C] hetu-pra-
- 3 bhavā te-
- 3 †[C] sācā hetuṃ
- 4 [C] Tathāgato a-
- 5 [C] vacha [[*] te-
- 6 [A] sācā cha yo nirodho evaṃ-vādi Mahāśāmapo || [B] āri-Sachya- [C] satu(suta)-mahā-
- 7 [A] ja-āri-Pūṣṇadi(vi)krama-kshā(kshā)dhīpati([*]) || āri-[B] Sirinhanāgā-[C] sācā(yācā)
- 8 bhādanta-
- 8 [A] Jayasenasya deya-dharmmo-yaṃ || Kārttika- [B] māsaṃ Ga- [C] tiḍa-rāja-a-
- 9 [A] [pū*]rviyaṃ samatna(tta) 70*-maṃ thāitāṃ ||

Postscript

Recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri copied a fragmentary Bhaikshuki inscription on the lower part of a sculptured stone slab under a pipal tree near the Kajra railway station. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 130. It is written in two lines reading as follows :

- 1ti [[*] paṭichcha]-samuppannānāhi cha [dhammā[nāhi] yo
- 2yo niro[dho] e[va]m[vā]di Mahāśāmapo—|| o ||

¹ See *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 113.

* From impressions.

† Expressed by symbol.

‡ Read exactly as in the Uren inscriptions.

This letter is redundant.

§ Lines 3-5, engraved in the third section, are very small.

¶ The symbol looks somewhat like that of 70; but the value assigned to it is not certain.

BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM



Size : Actual

BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION FROM KAJRA



Size : Actual

No. 10—SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26.2.60)

The inscription which is published here was copied by me during the year 1943-44 at **Shiggaon**, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District of Mysore State.¹ When I visited the place the inscribed slab was kept in the compound of the Mamlatdar's Office. It has since been removed to the Museum of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The inscription has been published by Mr. R. S. Pancharukhi in the *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 14, without illustration.

The writing covers an area of about 26" by 20" and, except a few letters here and there, it is well-preserved. The characters are early Kannada of the 9th century A.D. Initial *s* is found in lines 9, 11 and 15 while final *s* is met with in line 9 and final *r* in line 3. No distinction has been made between *e* and *ē* or *o* and *ō*. Except the imprecatory verse in lines 12-13 which is in Sanskrit, the language of the record is Kannada and the text is composed in prose. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally re-duplicated. The change of *r* to *ḥ* is met with in *ballabha* (lines 1-2) and *Bṛahṇī* (lines 9 and 11). Intervocal *i* is changed to *d* in *kallaṇḍa-dere* (line 8) and *kira-dere* (line 14). An epenthetic vowel is found in *Amoghavarsha* (line 1) and *varsha* (line 13). Metathesis is met with in *sirika-ravile* for *sirisa-ravile* (line 9).

The inscription, which is **not dated**, refers itself to the reign of **Amōghavarsha** and mentions the king's chief **Kuppeyarasa** as governing **Purigere-300**, **Maṇalera** (**Gūḍiga** as the *Nāgajñānyeda*, **Kallaman** of (i.e. the son or a member of the family of) **Kargāmunḍar** as the *Ūrgāmvēda*, and **Pendaman** as in charge of the **Kallavaḷḷa** taxes of the 300-division. The last mentioned officer, viz. **Pendaman**, is stated to have remitted, after obtaining the permission of **Kuppeyarasa**, the **Kallavaḷḷa** taxes of **Siggāme** to **Kuṇereti-bhaṭāri**, probably the goddess of that place. The inscription also registers the remission of all the minor taxes (*kiru-dare*), apparently in favour of the same goddess at the same place, made by **Kuppeyarasa**. The recipient of the gifts was a certain **Lōkāḷhara-bhaṭāra**.

Now who was Amoghavarsha mentioned in the record as the ruling king? Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao thinks that he may be Amoghavarsha IV Kalka (972-73 A.D.), the last ruler of the Rashtrakūṭa dynasty, since, according to him, the characters of the inscription are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D.³ But, in our opinion, the characters belong to the 9th century A.D. and consequently the record has to be ascribed to the reign of Amoghavarsha I who ruled in 814-78 A.D. The characters of our record generally resemble those of the Maunravāḍī⁴ and Mēvunḍī⁴ inscriptions of Amoghavarsha I. Particularly the letters *k*, *t*, *bh*, *m*, *v*, etc., are quite similar. On the other hand, these and other letters are certainly earlier than those of the Hulgur inscription of

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. F 42.

¹ *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, c. v.

² Above, Vol. VII, pp. 198 ff. and Plate; *Kara, Ist.*, Vol. I, No. 13.

* *SH*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 11 and Plates.

Khottiga dated 972 A.D.¹ and the Guṇḍūr inscription of Amoghavarsha IV Kakka dated 973 A.D.² This would show that Mr. Rao's view is not correct. Not only the considerations of palaeography but also the internal evidence of the inscription go against the identification suggested by him. We have seen above that Kuppeyarasa was governing Purigere-300 under Amoghavarsha. He is evidently identical with Kuppeyan or Kuppeyarasa mentioned as governing the same division in the Mantravādi inscription referred to above as well as in two records from Sorapūr,³ all of them dated and belonging to the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The same chief is also mentioned in a damaged inscription of Amoghavarsha I from Mēvūḍi, dated 865 A.D., apparently as a subordinate of the king.⁴ Therefore there can be little doubt that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Amoghavarsha I.⁵ And from the mention of the feudatory chief Kuppeyarasa who is also mentioned in other records of the king as shown above, we shall not be wrong in referring the present record to c. 865 A.D. We learn from the said records that this Kuppeyarasa belonged to the Yādava family.

Our inscription refers to Maṇalera Gāḍiga as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa*, evidently of the Purigere division. For the reasons given above, the date 972 A.D. for this Maṇalera Gāḍiga given by Mr. Rao⁶ cannot be accepted. He should be placed about a century earlier, in c. 865 A.D., to which date the present inscription has been assigned by us. In Maṇalera Gāḍiga, the latter word stands for the proper name of the person while Maṇalera seems to indicate the name of the family to which he belonged, though the family name itself might have been derived from a person called Maṇale or Maṇalera. The family is also known as Sagara-kula in some of the later records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It may be worthwhile to review some of these records here and try to reconstruct the genealogy of the members of this family as far as possible. They are described as *Sagara-mūrtanḍa* and *Maṇaler-āḍiga* and had the *Sīmha-lācchana* and *Kēsari-ketu*. They were governing, as feudatory chiefs, the district of Purigere-300 first as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍas* and later as *Mahāsāmantas* and *Mahāmūḍalēśvaras*.

The earliest member of this family known so far is Maṇalera Gāḍiga mentioned in the inscription under study. The next reference is found in the Atakur inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated 949 A.D.⁷ Therein a certain Maṇalera is mentioned as an officer under Būṭuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of the king. This Maṇalera is stated to have belonged to the Sagara lineage and borne the epithet *Palabhi-puṇḍar-āḍhīśvara*. In the Hulgur inscription of Khottiga⁸ dated 972 A.D., one Maṇalera Mārasimha is mentioned as the *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa* of Purigere-300. This Mārasimha may be the successor of Maṇalera of the Atakur record and may be identified with Mārasimhadēva mentioned as a predecessor of a certain Jayakēśin of the same family in an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, dated 1038 A.D.⁹ The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Somaśvara I, dated 1060 A.D., mentions Jayakēśin I, his son Indrakēśin and the latter's son Jayakēśin II.¹⁰ Jayakēśin I is apparently identical with Jayakēśin referred to above. An undated record from

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff. and Plate.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270-72. First did not publish the facsimile of this record. But I have consulted the impression secured by me in 1944-45. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-45, No. 8 286.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 176 ff.; *SH*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 12.

⁴ *SH*, op. cit., No. 11.

⁵ Mr. Pauchamukhi has also ascribed the inscription to the reign of Amoghavarsha I. Cf. *Kara, Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 14.

⁶ *SH*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, p. 54.

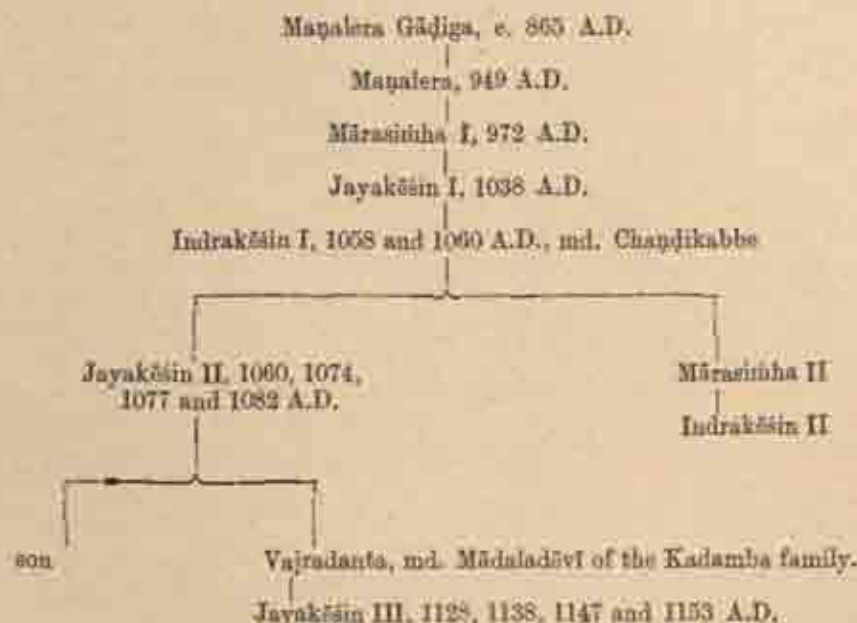
⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 332.

¹⁰ *ARASI*, 1936-37, p. 88; cf. also *Kara, Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 20.

Gadag belonging to the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) gives the name of his subordinate of this family as Indrakēśin II, son of Mārasinhha and grandson of Indrakēśin I.¹ This Indrakēśin I is identical with Indrakēśin of the Prince of Wales Museum record.² From this, it was previously surmised that Indrakēśin I had two sons, Jayakēśin II and Mārasinhha, or these two persons were one and the same.³ But an epigraph of the time of Sāmśvara II, dated 1074 A.D., mentions his feudatory *Mahāsāmanta* Jayakēśin as the eldest son of Indrakēśin and the latter's wife Chaudīkabbe.⁴ This Indrakēśin is evidently Indrakēśin I so that Jayakēśin would be the second of that name. From this, it would appear that Jayakēśin II was the eldest son of Indrakēśin I and that Mārasinhha of the Gadag record was his younger brother and had a son named Indrakēśin II. The latest date for Jayakēśin II is furnished by a record of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D.⁵

Now a record of the reign of Bhūlakamalla, dated 1138 A.D., mentions a Jayakēśin of the Sagara family as the son of Vajradanta and his wife Mādalahēvi of the Kadamba family and the grandson of Jayakēśin.⁶ Vajradanta had an elder brother whose name is lost in the damaged portion of the record. His father Jayakēśin may be identified with Jayakēśin II mentioned above so that his son would be Jayakēśin III. An earlier date for this Jayakēśin III is supplied by an inscription of 1128 A.D.⁷ while the latest date by another record of 1153 A.D.⁸ In the light of the above discussion, the genealogy of these chiefs of the Sagara or Maṇalera lineage may be shown in a tabular form as follows :⁹



¹ *SIJ*, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 261.

² He may also be identified with *Mahāsāmanta* Indrakēśinyarasa mentioned in another record of Sāmśvara I, dated in 1058 A.D. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-30, No. E 91.

³ *SIJ*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. iv.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.* 1933-36, No. E 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 12. He is also mentioned in a record of the same king, dated in 1077 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 320.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.* 1935-36, No. E 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 46. A Lakṣmīśvara inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla II gives him a date in 1147 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, pp. 44 E.

⁹ Cf. the genealogical table given in *SIJ*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

The inscription under study mentions a certain Kallaman of Kargāmuṇḍar as ūrgāmuṇḍa or village-headman. Kallaman may have been either a son or a servant or belonged to the family of Kargāmuṇḍar. A certain Kargāmuṇḍar is known from a record belonging to the reign of Dhruva, the grandfather of Amoghavarsha I.¹ But it is not certain whether he is identical with Kargāmuṇḍar of the present inscription. The name of the tax which was remitted in favour of Kalucetibhātārī is given as Kallavaḷla, the meaning of which cannot be made out.

As to the two geographical names, Purigere-500 and Siggāme, Purigere has been identified with modern Lakalmāvar in the Shihatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Siggāme is evidently the modern Shiggaon where the inscription was found and the record furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to this place.

TEXT²

- 1 Svasty-Amoghavarisha ārī-prithuvī³ ba-
- 2 ḷaḷha-mahārājādhirāja paramāvara bhātā-
- 3 rat-prithuvī⁴ rājyaṁ geyye tat-praśāntalindat Purī-
- 4 gere mānārā(ru)man Kuppeyarasar-āḷa Maṇale-
- 5 ra Gōḷiga-nāga(ḷā)muṇḍa geyye Kargāmuṇḍara Kallama-
- 6 n-ūrgāmuṇḍa ge⁵]yye [jāḷ]ara⁶ kallavaḷla Pundaman-āḷu-
- 7 ttam-āḷdu Kuppeyarasarge binna[haṇ] geydu Siggāme-
- 8 [ya] kallavaḷla-dere⁷ ārī-Kaluceti-bhātārige ko-
- 9 ttan [i⁸] idam kāḍātāṅge Bāraṇāsiyo(-sānikaravile⁹)
- 10 ya koḷagutā kōḷumam pōṇu(-kaṭṭi) vāla-pālaragge¹⁰
- 11 [koḷ]ṭa phalam-akku idam-aḷlātāṅge Bāraṇāsiṇeḷide¹¹
- 12 pāpam-akku [i¹²] Sva-datta[m](tāṭa) para-datta[m](tāṭa) ḷā[vā] rō harāti-(ta)vasu-
- 13 ndharā[m]¹³ śāśa[ī-vaṇṇa-sahāṇāṇi¹⁴ viśāṭa(tū)yām jāyatā kṛimī[h¹⁵] [i¹⁶]
- 14 mata¹⁷ kīru-dere de(e)ḷaman Kuppeyarasar-biṭṭar¹⁸
- 15 idam¹⁹ Lōkākshara bhātārur-pōḷedūr [i²⁰]

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 257-58.

² From impression.

³ There is an ornamental design at the beginning.

⁴ Read prithu.

⁵ The intended reading appears to be mānārāme apparently standing for Purigere-mānārāme.

⁶ Read āḷara-karāḷa.

⁷ Read vāla-pālaragge.

⁸ Read Bāraṇāsiyo-āḷa.

⁹ Read vāḷa-sahāṇāṇi.

¹⁰ Read mātāṇ.

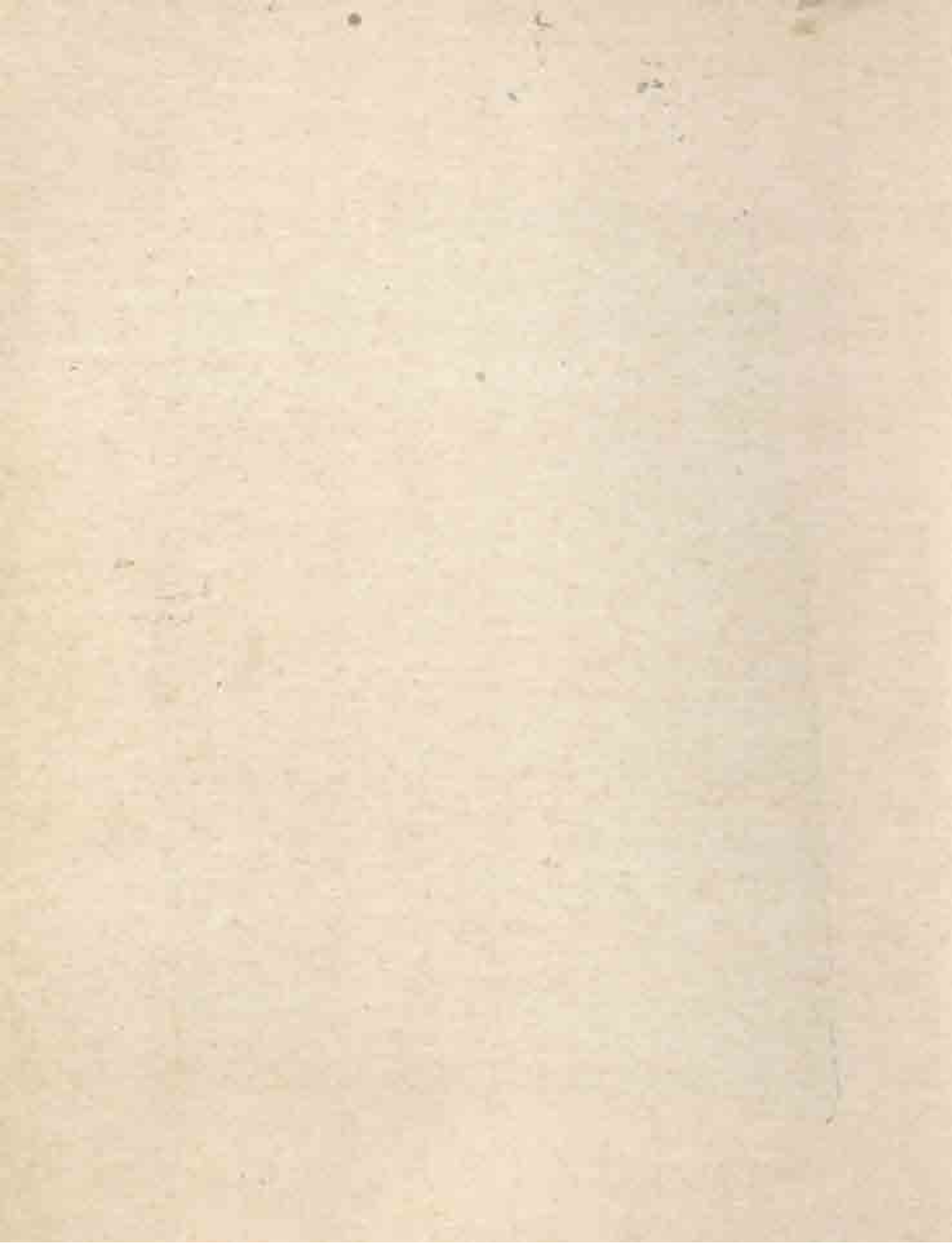
¹¹ There is a spiral design at this place.

¹² Final so is written below the line. Read tāṭa.

SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVRSHA I



Size : One-fourth



No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM DHOLKA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND M. R. MAJMUDAR, BARODA

(Received on 30.3.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in 1953 on the back side of a slab of black granite stone, the front side of which contains an image of the god Vishnu in high relief. The deity is now worshipped under the name of Rāṇbhōdji in a temple at **Dhōlkā** (known from medieval records as Dhavalaka, Dhavalakka, Dhavalakkaka, Dhavallakka and Dhavalārka)¹ in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. Some notes on the inscription were published in five articles by Pandit Lalachandra Gandhi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gujarātī monthly journal entitled *Śrī-Jainasatya-prakāśa*, Vol. XIX, 1954, Nos. 6-10, on the basis of an impression supplied to him by Dr. Majmudar.

The inscribed space is about two feet in length and 14½ inches in height. But the inscription is a fragment of a bigger one of which a little more than half from the left side is now preserved. Each line of writing originally contained more than eighty *akṣaras*, of which more than thirty are broken away from the right. It is clear that the inscribed slab was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left portion for making the Vishnu image, referred to above, on the uninscribed back side of it. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the image in question, which gives the date of its installation as *Somvat 1266 vasaḥ Chaitra-ḥadī 5*, i.e. the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in **Vikrama 1266 (1209 A.D.)**. Our inscription was therefore incised at an earlier date. The internal evidence shows that the record was engraved after the death of Śīlāhara Mallikārjuna (c. 1156-60 A.D.) and before that of Chaulukya Kumārāpāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). The date of the inscription on the Vishnu image falls in the reign of Chaulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), son of Mālarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and grandson of Kumārāpāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The utilisation of a Jain slab for making a Vishnu image points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Kumārāpāla who is himself said to have been a devout Jain.²

We have seen how the slab bearing the inscription represents the left half of the original stone. But even this original slab contained only one-third of the whole inscription apparently engraved on three such slabs or one much bigger slab. This is indicated by the fact that the stanzas of the record under study are consecutively numbered and these numbers show that verses 70-104 constituting the last 35 stanzas of a big *prastāva* were engraved on the slab in question, only about half of which is now available. The 69 stanzas forming the earlier part of the eulogy were apparently incised on two other stone slabs of about the same size or on the upper part of the same slab now broken away and lost. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the inscription is fairly satisfactory, though two holes bored in the slab for the strings of Vishnu's robes to pass through have caused the loss of some letters and a letter is sometimes damaged at the beginning or the end of the lines.

The characters of the inscription are Dēvanāgarī of about the twelfth century A.D. The record, as indicated above, is written entirely in verse. Its orthography does not call for any special remarks. No date is traceable in the inscription as it is now available to us. But, as indicated

¹ Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1020 and note.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 1002-03.

above, the epigraph seems to have been engraved sometime between c. 1160 and c. 1173 A.D. The concluding stanza of the inscription states that it was a *prastāvi* composed by the *muni* Rāmāchandra who is described as *prabandha-śāstra-nirmīti-prathīta-śīrṣi-śāmy-śāyā* showing that he was the author of a hundred works. This description shows beyond doubt that he is identical with the Jain scholar Rāmāchandra who was a pupil of the celebrated Jain polymath Hēmachandra-śrī and is known, from Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, to have been famous as 'the author of a hundred works'.¹ Rāmāchandra's poem in 104 stanzas, about one-third of which is engraved on the slab under review, is no doubt one of the many that were composed by him. Most of his works were composed during the reigns of Jayasinhha Siddharāja and Kumārāpāla since, according to Mērutunga, Kumārāpāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.) caused the poet's death by seating him on a heated plate of copper in Vikrama 1230 (1174 A.D.). Jain tradition informs us that Rāmāchandra was involved in a plot of the Jain clergy to debar Ajayapāla, who was antagonistic towards Jainism, to succeed to the throne of the heirless Kumārāpāla. But Ajayapāla was successful in getting the throne in spite of this opposition and took revenge on the Jains on becoming king.²

Since, out of the thirty-five stanzas of the record, the preservation of only four short verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre (verses 70, 81, 92, 94) is complete and the remaining 32 stanzas are preserved only in parts, the contents of the inscription are unintelligible in many places. It is also often difficult to connect one part of it with another.

Verses 70-71, of which the second is preserved in fragments, may be regarded as speaking of a person named Mallikārjuna. In that case, Mallikārjuna is represented in verse 70 as devoted to his master. Since, however, the name Mallikārjuna is used in verse 71 in the accusative along with the expression *nṛpatiḥ prathīpaḥ* (the king's valour) in the nominative, indicating that a king's (probably Kumārāpāla's) valour did something to Mallikārjuna, it appears that this Mallikārjuna was none other than the Śilāhāra ruler of the same name (known dates 1156 and 1160 A.D.) who was the king of the Northern Konkan and is stated in Jain works to have been killed in a battle by Chaulukya Kumārāpāla's forces.³ Indeed, no other Mallikārjuna is known to be associated with the history of Gujarat during the period in question. It is interesting to note in this connection that verse 76 below speaks of the defeat and death of the lord of Kuṅkapa (Konkan) at the hands of a hero whose name is not traceable anywhere in verses 70-76 probably describing the activities of a servant of king Kumārāpāla. If such was the case, we have to think that verse 70 speaks of this hero while the next stanza (verse 71) mentioning Mallikārjuna speaks of the hero's activities against the Śilāhāra king. There are several traditions in regard to Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna's death. While Mērutunga states that Āmbada or Āmrabhata, the son of Udayana of the Ścāmāla community of Banās, who was the chief minister of Jayasinhha Siddharāja, struck off Mallikārjuna's head, according to Hēmachandra, some Gurjara soldiers did this work and the *Prithvirāj-raṣṭrakūṭa* states that Sōmāvara, the Chāhamāna protégé at Kumārāpāla's court, did it. An inscription again states that, when Paramāra Dhārāvāraha of Abu held his ground on the battle field, the wives of

¹ See Tawney's trans., pp. 152-53; L. B. Gandhi's introduction to the *Rāśāśāstra* (G.O.S., No. XXIX, 1929), pp. 22-23. Among the known works of Rāmāchandra, mention may be made of the dramas *Naiśāṅka* and *Kaustubhānanda* and the treatise on dramatic art called *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* composed in collaboration with Guṇaschandra-śrī, another pupil of Hēmachandra-śrī. Rāmāchandra is said to have received the title *Kumārāpāla-śāstra* from Jayasinhha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), the predecessor of Kumārāpāla.

² Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002; Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 123.

³ Cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 891-92; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 113 ff. *Maṇusmṛiti* mentions Mallikārjuna was a feudatory of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, though it is less likely that his overlord is referred to in verse 70 of our record as will be seen below.

⁴ It is stated that the head of the king of Kuṅkapa was cut off with arrows and that the inmates of his harem entered him. The word *śakrapa* used here means an arrow with a sharp horse-shoe-shaped head.

the lord of Kuṅkaṇa (Konkan) shed drops of tears'.¹ Indeed Āmbaḍa (Āmrabhata), Sōmāsvara and Dhārṣvaraṣa may have all taken parts in the campaign against Mallikārjuna, though none of the claimants for the achievement of beheading the latter may have actually killed him. Since, however, the main purpose of our inscription, as will be seen below, was to record the pious activity of another son of the above-mentioned Udayana, it is possible to conjecture that it was the valorous deeds of Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata which were the subject-matter of the description in the stanzas referred to above. This Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata is said to have risen in revolt against king Ajaya-pāla and, as a result, lost his life.²

Verse 77 states that the valour of the hero described in the previous stanzas was sung by the girls of Lāṭa, i.e. South Gujarāt lying immediately to the north of Kuṅkaṇa or the Northern Konkan. The description of the same person's activities continues and verse 79 states that he built a Chaitya for the Tirthaṅkara Suvrata at Bhṛigukachchha, i.e. modern Broach. Verse 81 says that the same person made a silver image of the god Nābhijanman (i.e. Ādinātha) at the Chaitya called Kumāra-vihāra which was situated at Śrīpattana. Since Śrīpattana seems to be no other than Anahila-pattana (i.e. modern Pātan or Anhilwādā Pātan), the Kumāra-vihāra appears to be the monastery named after Kumārapāla, which the Chaulukya king frequently visited according to the *Kumārapālapratibōdha* by Sōmaprabha.³

Verses 82-89 describe certain heroic activities probably ascribable to the same hero. But verse 90 states that a person built a city after his own name in the Lāṭa country and the next stanza (verse 91) probably speaks of the construction of the Dhana-vihāra by him in the Avanti country (i.e. West Malwa), while verse 92 states that Dhavala's son was Vairisinha who built the Chaitya of the Tirthaṅkara Pārivanūtha at Stambhatīrtha, i.e. modern Cambay. The language may of course suggest that the whole description in verses 70-91 has to be assigned to Dhavala. The name of this person again reminds us of Dhavala, after whom Dhavalakkaka or Dholkā, where the inscription under study has been found, was apparently named.⁴ It is well known that Dhavala of Bhūmapalli was the husband of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother and was the father of Arḡorāja (of Vyāghrapalli from which the family derived the name Vāghēlī), the grandfather of Lāvayya-prasāda (of Dhavalakkaka), the great-grandfather of Virādavala and the great-great-grandfather of Viśvamalla or Viśala (c. 1244-62 A.D.), the Chaulukya-Vāghēlī king of Gujarāt.⁵ But it is doubtful whether the naming of Dholkā after Dhavala is alluded to in verse 90 referring to a person building a city after his name in the Lāṭa country since Dholkā in Northern Gujarāt seems to be situated outside ancient Lāṭa indicating the Nausāri-Broach region of Southern Gujarāt. Dhavala is also not associated with the story of Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna's defeat and death in the hands of Kumārapāla's forces. Moreover, although the introduction of Dhavala as the ruler of the area in which the inscription was set up is intelligible, it is difficult to understand how the description of the pious deeds of this Dhavala and his son Vairisinha (as yet unknown from any source) came in between that of the activities of the killer of Mallikārjuna in the earlier part of the inscription and of those of the latter's relation in its concluding part. Under the circumstances, it is possibly better to suggest that Dhavala mentioned in verse 92 of our inscription was a brother of the killer of Mallikārjuna. Thus the author seems to have introduced Dhavala after completing the description of his brother who killed Mallikārjuna.

¹ See Ray, op. cit., p. 991; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

² Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

³ Ray, op. cit., p. 994. Another Kumāra-vihāra containing an image of Pārivanūtha was built by *Paramādhata* Kumārapāla in the fort of Kāśhāna-giri at Jēthālipura (modern Jalor in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at the request of Prabhā Hama-sūri in Vikrama 1221 (1164 A.D.). See ibid., pp. 982-83; above, Vol. XI, pp. 64-65.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 156 and note 7.

⁵ Ray, op. cit., pp. 1047-48.

- 2 v dhā¹ nripatēḥ pratāpāḥ || 71 Yad-vikrama-samarāṇa-sambhṛta-sādhvaś-ōṭika-vyākampa-
tāṇḍava-chaḥ-āchala-pāṇayaś-tē | ady-āpi bhaṇḍi-vimukhāṁ ḍayitā-stanā² — — —
— — — — — || 72* || — — — — —
- 3 sh-śomāśh-śrjita-hutabhujō Jāmadagnyaśya tasya | sithānāṁ yān-ādhuta-śata-kṛitē kahu-
dhataś kadhā-vaś(baṭ)dhād-rājanyānāṁ paribhava-bhṛitam kaḥ kṛitō n-ōpakāraḥ
|| 73* || — — — — — ||*
- 4 kī³-vijay-ōdyataśya yasy-ānv-śaśh viḥṛitam-unmada-vallabhēna || 74 Samara-ratnga-bhu-
vāśh śara-pāṇibhūḥ kim-āpi tāṇḍavam-ādadhataḥ muhūḥ | yam-ābhivikṣh(y)au — — —
— — — — — || 75* || — — — — —
- 5 bha-śrī-Kurukar-śśō-kṣhipad-bhū-ālm-ītha tēna tasya nisitaś-ānām kṣhuraprañḥ śirāḥ | rāj-
āntaḥparam-atra vahim⁴-avilāt-paṭṭa-dvipō-tr-āpatad-ya — — — — —
— — — — — || 76* || — — — — —
- 6 [v]-ānuśarjara-gṛah pulak-āvaldhāḥ | ady-āpi Lāṭa-sudṛiśh pura-chaṭvarṣeḥ gāyamti
śaurya-naya-vainayikāni yasya || 77 Yas-tuṅga-śringam-uddā[ma].....
..... || 78* || — — — — —
- 7 [v]iṭtasya tasya śrī-Suvrataśya Bhṛigukachchha-viśēḥakasya | uttūṅga-śringa-śata-vi-
smiṭa-dēva-dāityaṁ chaityaḥ chakāra Hara-hāsa-sahōdaram yāḥ || 79 Jayam
..... ||* || 80* ||
- 8 Yāḥ Kumāravihār-ākhyā chaityā Śrīpattana-śthitē | pratimāḥ kārayāmāsa rājatīm Nā-
bhijānmanāḥ || 81 Yasy-ā-janma-par-āḥganā-parihṛiti-ītha] — — — — —
— — — — — ||*|| — — — — —
- y-āka-pa[ramaḥ] satya-vratō saushṭhavāḥ kim ch-ānyat-kathayāmi yasya paramā vīrō-
śhu rēkḥ-ābhavat || 82 Bhṛitē nibhṛitam-amva(mba)ś samars-tūra-nād-ākaśir-ya
— — — — — ||*|| — — — — —
- 10 [m-a]payā — — — ny-ābhūhītāni t-ākaraṇyau || 83 Ēk-āṅga-vtra-tīlakēna kṛipāṇa-khō[la]-
śāpārka-pāvita-bhūja-dvītayēna yēna | yuddhāśhu bhūmi — — — — —
— — — — — || 84* || — — — — —
- 11 — samavēkahya yasya ān[ā]śira-kurjara-mahābha-turaṅga-bhīḥman(āhman) | utthā-
ya pūṭkṛita-ravēga palāyamāṇōḥ sādāhāntam-ādadhati bhūmibhūjaḥ sa-lajjadh(jjam)
|| 85* || — — — — — ||*|| — — — — —
- 12 paṣpīha⁵ — — — prasabha-pramṛiṣṭa-duṣṭi-śvarōdha-guṣṭipāya chīrāya yasmāi || 86
Dvipapati-raḍan-āgrā-khōḍa-jāta-vraṇ-āll-maya-lipar-anuvapadā bhā — — — — —
||*|| — — — — —
- 13 [vāḥ] || 87 [Matam] nripati-mahādāḥ-mukuta-kāntika-īpraīramān-vīrōdhē(dai)-vasudhā-
bhujō yudhī vidhāya nīrvikramān | gajair-yad-upadā-kṛitāḥ ka — — — — —
— — — — — || 88* || — — — — —

¹ The intended word may be *bahudhā*.² The intended reading may be *śāntāśh*.³ This last *āśh* was probably *śś*.⁴ The intended word may be *maḥ*.⁵ Read *śāhira*?⁶ The intended word may be *ś-śpaṣpīha*.

- 14 [a]ya-rik[r]ama-mdbh[?] kin[?] tasya l[?]r-ottara[n] śaśyaś-v[?]ra-matallikā-stuta-bhujā-stambhaśya
v[?]ra-v[r]jatan[?]am(tam) | dēśa yēna sa jādigaḥaḥ prati-mubh[?] kahugga-kahit[?]sa — — — — —
[?] 89*
- 15 | aya-nām-ārkam puram yēna **Lāṭa-dēśe** nivēṣitam(tam) || 90 **Avantishu** k[?]it-
śapada[?]h[?] kunjar-āgrāra[?]v[?]ta[?]ra[?]ga[?]ma-cha[?]mā-v[?]r[?]tō Dhana-v[?]hā[?] — —
[?] 91*
- 16 — — — — — || 91 **Dhavalasya Vairisimbhar[?]h(ha[?])** eutō-bhūn[?]aya-bhūshaga[?]h[?] |
chaityam yāḥ Pārśvanā[?]thaśya **Star[?]bha-tirthā** vyadhāpayat || 92 Vinaya-kauśala — — — — —
[?] 93*
- 17 || 93 Tirtha-prabhāvan-śilāhūta-puṇya-śrī-puṇya-jannanāth(nām) | a[?]t-
ārṇavi-kūla-mūla-prābhāṭa-kirtti-saṁpadām(dam) || 94 Amāri śi[?]d[?]im[?]ś[?]n[?] — — — — —
[?] 95*
- 18 [dhanyānām] vidyā-tritaya-vēdhasām[?]ām | śrī-**Hēmachandra-sūrtmām** āday-ādēśa-
valbhava[?]m(vam) || 96 Saṁvaya-kumbha-ruchi-piṇjarit-āmtarikaham[?] satikolpa-
saṁgha[?]ana-ta — — — — — [?] 97*
- 19 — || 97 Bh[?]rī-sahara-kahar-śāhita-tāra-tāra-bhāṅk[?]sa-pūra-paripūrita-v[?]śva-rāmyam[?] — — — — —
(myam) | abhram[?]h[?]āgra-śikharā-śhita-śi[?]kha-pāla-śr[?]p[?]i-viś[?]t[?]rita-patad[?]ga — — — — —
[?] 98*
- 20 [ka]¹[a]jibha-śilā-sahara-rōchih-prachaya-valakabita-śarṇya-chaṇdra-śālan[?]am(tam) || 99
Upahāṣita-sura-vimānam[?] vināna-muni-vimāna-janina-va[?]ta[?]kum[?]āna[?]am(tam) | miki-
[?]a — — — — — [?] 100*
- 21 yā lakṣmīya | **Udayana-vihāram** etam vyadhāpayat **Vāgbhaṭō** māt[?]r[?] || 101 Jina-
saṁkhyāny-śāharaṇāny-śāgram[?]grām[?] trishatata[?] dhvajān hēma[?]h[?] | yāḥ pūṇyā — — — — —
[?] 102*
- 22 — cha rāmyā chaṇdr-ādity-śvachūla-dhavalatara-lamat-tarakā-tāram-abhram[?]h[?]am(tam) |
śābhāṣ chaṇdr-ōdayasya śrayat[?] v[?]k[?]aśi-śm[?]t[?]vara-saigalla-bhāṣ yāvat-tāvat-pralā — — — — —
va — — — — — [?] 103*
- 23 r-āmanām kṛta-daivam[?] śrāḥ-śāhara[?]h[?] | pūv[?]am(tam) dha-sata-nim[?]it[?]i-prathita-
kirtti-kāmy-ōdaya[?]h[?] p[?]r[?]a-śim[?]a-śulāṁ-śim[?]am[?]a[?]pita **Rāmachand[?]rō** munib[?] || 104*

¹ The intended word is apparently *śilā*.

² The intended word seems to be *śāhika*.

No. 12—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

(I. Plate)

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12. *Sarabhaṅga*=*Sarabhaṅga*=*Sarābhaṅga*

Some Magi priests of ancient Iran are known to have migrated to and settled in India and became known as Maga Brāhmaṇas also called Śākadvīpiya, i.e. 'hailing from Śākadvīpa'.¹ This Śākadvīpa can be roughly identified with modern Sistan in Eastern Irān, which was known respectively as Sakastān and Sijistān in the ancient and medieval periods.² The said people and those who accompanied them to India introduced a few words in the Indian vocabulary, one of them being the well-known Sanskrit word *mihira* (i.e. the sun or the Sun-god) which is the same as Persian *mih* derived from Avestic *mithra*=Vedic *mitra*.³ On some coins of the Kushāṇa kings Kanishka and Huvishka, the Sun-god is represented on the reverse and the name of the deity is spelt in Greek characters as *metro* (also as *metro* and *mitro*), i.e. *mihira*,⁴ the Greek alphabet having no ā. The alternative spellings suggest that the word was also pronounced as *mihuro* and *mihura*.

Similarly, the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north-western regions of Bhāratavarsha and their Kushāṇa successors, who came to our country from the west, introduced certain official designations in the Indian administrative system, some of which became popular with the indigenous Indian kings of various parts of Northern India. A few such designations are (1) *Gaṇjama* (cf. *Gaṇjapati*), (2) *Dibira* or *Dicira* (cf. *Dicirapati*), and (3) *Pilupati* (cf. *Mahāpilupati*).

The designation *Gaṇjama*, occurring in a Mathura inscription⁵ of the Śaka chief Śaśāsa (c. 15-25 A.D.) and in Kalhana's *Kashmirian Chronicle*⁶ written about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., is the same as Persian *Ganjavar* meaning 'a treasurer', derived from *ganj*, 'treasure'. The same designation occurs as *Gaṇjapati* in the Talewar (Almora District, U.P.) plate⁷ of Dyuti-varman who flourished about the sixth century A.D. About the middle of the tenth century A.D., Ūtpala, in his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* (LII, 13), explains *gaṇjaś* as *kōṣa-bhavanam* (i.e. treasury).⁸ The designation *Dibira* or *Dicira*, which is found in such an early record as the Kholi plates⁹ of king Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa, dated 496 A.D., was explained by Bühler as 'a clerk, writer or accountant' on the authority of the *Lakṣaprakāśa* ascribed to Kshē-mendra.¹⁰ It is the same as Persian *Dabir* meaning 'a writer, a secretary'.¹¹ *Dicirapati* also occurs in the Talewar plate referred to above and often in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi from the latter part of the sixth century A.D.¹² In the designation *Pilupati* or *Mahāpilupati*, which

¹ B. G. Bhandarkar's *Collected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

² *Conc. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 564.

³ Cf. B. G. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 142, note 6; p. 153, note 5.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 247.

⁶ *Rājataranginī*, V, 177.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 115.

⁸ Bhāṭṭa Ūtpala wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brhat-samhitā* in 966 A.D.

⁹ *CII*, Vol. III, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

¹¹ Wilson's *Glossary*, s.v. The *Rājataranginī* (VIII, 131) makes a distinction between *Dicira* and *Kōṣastha* probably because the Kashmirian *Kōṣastha* was primarily a tax-collector.

¹² Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1326, dated 588 A.D.; etc.

occurs in such early records as the Ahoms plates¹ of the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragana, dated 595-96 A.D., and the Taleswar plate referred to above, as well as in a large number of copper-plate grants issued by North Indian kings of the early medieval period,² the word *pila* is the same as Arabic-Persian *fil* meaning 'an elephant'.³ An inscription of Kalachuri Saṅkaragana's time spells the designation as *Mahāpūlupōti*.⁴

The official designation *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* often occurs in the list of subordinates and officers addressed by some of the kings of Northern India in respect of the grants of land recorded in their copper-plate charters. The difference in the spelling of the word is sometimes noticed even in the records of the same king. Thus, while the Nālandā plate⁵ of king Devapala (c. 810-54 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar has *Sarabhaṅga*, the Monghyr plate⁶ of the same king has *Sarabhaṅga*. A tenth century copper-plate inscription⁷ of king Viḍagha of Chamba in the Himalayas, on the other hand, spells the word as *Sarabhaṅga*. This confusion about the spelling seems to indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

The meaning of *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* has not been satisfactorily determined, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain it on the basis of Sanskrit *śara* meaning 'an arrow' probably regarding the spellings *sara* as a mere mistake for *śara* and ignoring *saras* altogether. Thus it has sometimes been suggested that *Sarabhaṅga* means a superior military officer equipped with bows and arrows, although the word *bhaṅga* remains unexplained in this interpretation.⁸ While editing the Pandukeshvar (Garhwal District, U.P.) plates of about the tenth century A.D., we ourselves observed, "*Sarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon".⁹ It has also been conjectured that *Sarabhaṅga* may have something to do with *śarayastra* or *Śarayastra*, the latter being a title conferred in Mithilā upon a very learned man who successfully faced an ordeal (called *śarayastra*) of answering satisfactorily all questions on any *śāstra* put to him by learned *śāharyas* and common people.¹⁰ But, as indicated above, the spelling of the first part of the designation variously as *sara*, *sara* and *saras* seems to suggest that the writers of the epigraphic records were struggling to find out a suitable Sanskrit word for a foreign expression. Indeed it has also to be noticed that no word like *Sarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sarabhaṅga* occurs in any of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of an official designation and that it is also not known from any epigraphic record of a South Indian monarch.

It now appears to us that *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga* was introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bhāratavarsha just as *Gaṇjaveṇa*, *Divira* and *Piluzuti* and that it is really an Indian modification of Persian *Sarhang* meaning 'a commander of forces'. *Sarhang* is derived from *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*), 'the head', and old Persian *haṅga* (Sanskrit *saṅgha*), 'a company', in the sense of 'the head of a contingent of troops'. The same expression is used as *Sardūṅgha* in the official designation *Gūgūtā-sarūṅgha*, 'the chief of the army at Gūgit', occurring in the Hatun (Gilgit) inscription¹¹ of the Shāhī king Paṭolādīva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. The *Sardūṅgha* of the Hatun inscription may also have been a military

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 298.

² Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Rev.*, Vol. III, p. 188.

³ Wilson's Glossary, v.v.

⁴ See above, Vol. II, p. 22.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 221, text line 29.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.

⁷ Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 166, text line 7.

⁸ Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 309.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 282, note 8.

¹⁰ Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 1005.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 228.

governor. The same designation is still found in some of the Indian dialects in the form *Serāṅg*.¹ Wilson's Glossary recognises Persian *Sarkang*-Indian *Serang* and explains the designation as follows: 'a commander; but generally applied in India to the headman of a native crew whether on board a ship or boat; also to the headman of a gang of natives attached to artillery, dragging guns, or to the army in general, as tent-pitchers and the like, or to the head of gangs of a superior order of labourers employed in public or private works, in docks, buildings, etc.'²

13. *Dēvadāsīs in Buddhist Temples*

The Ratnagiri copper-plate inscription of the Sōmavamśi king Karṇa, who flourished in Orissa about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mrs. D. Mitra in the pages of this journal³ and we also have published a note on the same epigraph above.⁴ The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Sōmavamśi king in favour of Rāpi Karpūrasī, described in our opinion, as the daughter of Mahārī Māhūnadāvi and the *patrī* (i.e. daughter of the *patrī* or daughter) of Udayamati. We have regarded Karpūrasī as a *rāpi* (literally, 'queen', but probably 'a concubine') of king Karṇa. Her description as the daughter and granddaughter of females instead of the mention of her father and grandfather was taken by us to suggest that she was born of a harlot. This suggestion was supported by us by taking her mother's epithet *mahārī* as the same as Prakṛit *māharī*-Oriya *māhārī* meaning a *Dēvadāsī* (i.e. a dancing girl attached to temples, a harlot).

But a difficulty we felt then was that Karpūrasī is described in the inscription as *Salāpura-mahāśikhāra-vinirgatā*, which would normally mean 'hailing from the great Buddhist monastery at Salāpura'. Since, however, *Dēvadāsīs* are generally known to have been attached to Brahmanical temples and not to Buddhist monasteries, we were inclined to interpret the expression *Salāpura-mahāśikhāra* as a stereotyped geographical name of the area around the Buddhist monastery at Salāpura just as that of the town of Bihār (Vihāra, Bihārasharif of the Muslims) in the Patna District of Bihar. We therefore suggested that Karpūrasī, a concubine of the Sōmavamśi king Karṇa, hailed from the neighbourhood of the Salāpura monastery but was not attached to it. Recently, however, we have found some proof to show that *Dēvadāsīs* were maintained in the early medieval period not only in the Brahmanical temples but also in the Buddhist shrines at least in Eastern India. There was thus no difference in this respect between the Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in the area and age to which the Ratnagiri plates belong. We therefore think now that Karpūrasī and probably also her mother, if not her maternal grandmother as well, had really been *Dēvadāsīs* attached to the Buddhist temple in the *mahāśikhāra* at Salāpura before she went to king Karṇa's harem. She may have been purchased by the king from the authorities of the monastery.

Bhagavanlal Indraji published an inscription embedded in the wall of a temple of the Sun-god on the western side of the tank called Dakṣiṇa-mānasa near the Vishnupāda at Gayā in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 341 ff. Dated in the Buddhavarinirvāṇa year 1883 (probably 1270 A.D.), this inscription records the construction of a *Gandhokūṭi* by Puruṣhōttamasūriha, the son of Kāmadēvasūriha and grandson of king Jayastūgasūriha of the Kāma country (probably Kumaun in the Himalayas or Kāman in the Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). The expression *gandhokūṭi* originally meant the Buddha's private chamber in a Buddhist establishment and later a shrine where the Buddha's image was worshipped in a Buddhist monastery. The Buddhist temple in

¹ The Bengali spelling of the word is *Sāraṅg*.

² See also *Holston-Jobson*, s.v. *Serang*.

³ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 262 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 269 ff.

question is said to have been built for the merit of Māṅkyasinhā, the deceased son of Purushōt-tamasinhā's daughter Ratnari, with the help of the local Chhinda king and of king Adākachalla of the Sapādalakha country (the Siwalik hills or the land around Śākambhari or Sambhar in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan), both Purushōttamasinhā and Adākachalla probably being pilgrims to Gayā or leading retired lives at the holy place.

Verse 12 of the said inscription has been read and translated as follows :

Pūjāḥ pūjyatanasya paścama-gatair=vināyair=tramadhyanā mādā

Rambhā=amābhā-bhāvaibhā=abhātā(taḥ)=chātibhā=atyaullbhutāḥ(tam) |

nrītyantibhā=anāga-laṅgma-gatair=ggit=iddi-rakṣair=inaḥ

gasmāt=santi hi śāsanā bhagavataḥ sūktāra=viśphāritāḥ ||

"Since, in the religion of the *Bhagavat*, worship is here [offered] to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key (*paścama-gata*) together with Rambhā-like *Bhāva*s and *Chāṭi*s dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unious of Anaga (*Kāma*)—[worship] increased by hospitable entertainments."

On the words *bhāva*i and *chāṭi*, Indrajī observes as follows : "*Bhāva*s are the dancing girls attached to temples. *Chāṭi*s are maid-servants belonging to temples, who perform certain menial services as well as join with the *Bhāva*s in singing....."

The word *bhāva*i in the sense of 'a wanton woman' is interesting since this meaning may have developed from its use in expressions like *Harī-bhāva*i, 'devoted to Harī', probably often applied to dancing girls attached to Vaiṣṇava temples.

11. *Dvāraśāṭka*

While commenting above¹ on some of Mr. R. K. Ghosal's views on the Rākṣasabhāṭi (Sundarban) plate of Śaka 1118, we pointed out that *Dvāraśāṭka*, where king Dāmanapāla was staying at the time of making the grant recorded in the charter, was a locality near the Gaṅgāśāgarasāṅgama (i.e. the holy junction of the Gaṅgā or Bhāgirathī and the Bay of Bengal), that the king went there to meet his end in the waters of the Ganges according to a popular practice of those days and that the grant was made on the said occasion in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu scriptures. It was also pointed out that *śāṭka*, the second part of the name, is the same as Sanskrit *śāṭka* and Bengali *śāṭā*, and means 'a market place'. But we were not sure then whether *dvāra*, the first part of the name, means 'a mouth' of the Ganges, so that the name *Dvāraśāṭka* would literally mean 'a market place on the mouth [of the Ganges]'. This was because the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not generally found in the Sanskrit lexicons and the name *Gaṅgā-dvāra*, literally 'the door of the Ganges', is applied to modern Haridwar which is a locality where the Ganges enters into the plains from the Himalayas. But we have recently noticed that the word *dvāra* in the sense of the mouth of a river is not unknown.

The Lumbini copper-plate inscription,² issued by the Maithaka king Śīlāditya II in the Gupta-Vaṭabhi year 390 (588-69 A.D.), records the gift of some land in a village situated at the *Madhumati-dvāra* which has been interpreted as 'the mouth of the river Madhumati (i.e. the modern Nikol creek)'. The localities mentioned in the enumeration of the boundary of the gift land support

¹ Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 74 ff.

the said interpretation of the word *devara*. Thus *Dvārahaṭṭaka* of the *Rākahaskhālī* (*Sundarben*) plate may have been actually situated on the mouth of the *Bhāgrathi* in the vicinity of *Gāṅgāsagarasaṅgama*. It may be pointed out that, in Tamil, the expression *mukha-devara* means the mouth of a river especially where it falls into the sea.

15. *Ambā-kipilikā=Ambā-kapilikā=Ambā-kapilikā*

Ambā-kipilikā, *ambā-kapilikā* or *ambā-kapilikā* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of *Aśoka*, whose slaughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor.¹ Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *ambā* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and the Prakrite (including Pāli) while *kapilikā* is a well-known Pāli word meaning 'an ant'. Bühler, therefore, interpreted *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* as 'the queen ant'² and most later writers have accepted Bühler's interpretation.

B. M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*,³ the expression *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pechchari* means *khuddaka-kukkutikā* (Sanskrit *khudraka-kukkutikā*), 'a small hen', and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddaka*, 'small'.⁴ He took *ambā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka-khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of 'the ant' being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* means a small bird.⁵

P. C. Sen⁶ has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua's interpretation of *ambā* as 'small' and suggests that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* really means 'a small ant'. In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*⁷:

Anaṣṭān-mṛttikā chāśva tathā khudra-pipilikā |

śiśumātaka-tathā vipraś-abbakshyaś viśam-iva cha ||

The verse mentions *khudra-pipilikā* or 'the small ant' in the list of food which a Brāhmaṇa should not take and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating ants amongst certain sections of the people.

Secondly, Sen refers to the practice of eating winged white-ants and also bigger red-ants which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango trees, especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar.⁸ He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* in Pillar Edict V of *Aśoka*.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise 'small' as a meaning of the word *ambā* and even if *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pechchari* means

¹ *CII*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 224.

² See above, Vol. II, p. 259.

³ Vol. I, p. 188.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, p. 358.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ *Bhāṣa* (Bengali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ See Bangabhat edition, *Sānti-parvan*, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.

⁸ In the western areas of North India, I am told, there is a belief that one's eye-sight becomes sharp if red or grey ants are eaten.

Klundaka-Kabbutāṣṣ, it is not certain that *ambō* means 'small'. Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called *akudra* or 'small'. The consumption of 'big' ants is not prohibited by the *Mahābhārata*.

The word *ambō* occurs in the expression *ambō-saṣṭikyā* in Pillar Edict VII¹ and in *ambō-vaṣṭikā* in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kanauj pillar,² both the expressions standing for Sanskrit *āmba-vāṣṭikā*, 'a grove of mango trees'. Thus *ambō* stands for Sanskrit *āmba* in Asokan vocabulary.³ It is thus very probable that *ambō-kipilīkā-ambō-kapilīka-ambō-kapilīka* really stands for Sanskrit *āmba-kipilīkā* and means 'the mango-tree ant', i.e. the big red ant that generally lives on mango trees.

16. Date of the Dabōk Inscription

While editing the Mathurā fragmentary inscription (assigned on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the seventh century A.D.) of the Maurya king Karka Dindirāja in the pages of this journal,⁴ we had occasion to refer to the Dabōk (nigh miles to the east of Udaipur, Rajasthan) inscription mentioning the Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhavagarā (Dhōḍ in the Jaipur District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan) and the latter's overlord Paramabhadrakā Mahārājadhīrāja Paramāśvara Dhavalappa. The Dabōk inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar⁵ and a tentative transcript of it, based on an unsatisfactory impression, was published by R. R. Halder.⁶ In our discussion, reference was also made to Bhandarkar's identification of this Dhavalappa with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauja inscription⁷ of 738 A.D. (V. S. 793) and it was pointed out that *Dhavalātman* may be a Sanskritised form of the South Indian (Kannada) name *Dhavalappa* and that these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region may have been related to the Maurya house of the Southern Konkan. We further suggested that the Mauryas succeeded in extending their suzerainty over Rajasthan which had formerly been a part of the dominions of king Harsha (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj.⁸ It was also suggested by us in some other connection that Śīlāditya of the Sāmoli (Bhamat District, Udaipur Division) inscription⁹ of V.S. 703 (648 A.D.) was either identical with Harsha of Kanauj or with a Guhila ruler who was named after the Kanauj king because the latter was his father's overlord as in some other cases known to the students of Indian history.¹⁰

The date of the Dabōk inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar had at first read it as the year 807 of the Vikrama Śaṁvāt corresponding to 750 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 736 A.D. But Halder reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. Recently I had an occasion to study some good impressions of the inscription and found that the date in question is very clearly the year 701 which must be referred to the Vikrama Śaṁvāt so as to yield 644 A.D.

The date is written in three signs, the first of which is a *era* (indicating 100) joined at the right with the sign of 7, so that the entire symbol can only be read as 700. The difference between this symbol for 700 and that illustrated by Ojha in his *Bhāratīya Prākṛita Liptamālā*, Plate LXXIV-b,

¹ *CII*, Vol. I, p. 136, text line 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156, text line 2.

³ See my note in *Bhāṭṭa*, Vol. X, pp. 31 ff. Cf. R. G. Basak, *Asokan Inscriptions*, p. 104.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 207 ff.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371, *PRAS*, W. C. 1908-09, p. 61; above, Vol. XII, p. 12, note 1.

⁶ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the Chattri and Nagar inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1537; *Bhāratīya Kāśmīrī*, Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.). But it is doubtful.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

⁸ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 7; Vol. XXXIV, p. 168.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 97 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 7, note 8; Vol. XXXIV, p. 169.

DATE OF THE DABOK INSCRIPTION



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is that 7 is not joined with 100 in the latter case, though 700 written by a joint symbol of 100 and 7 is also illustrated by him elsewhere.¹ The second of the three signs, with which the date of the Dabōk inscription is written, is a dot which is known to have been sometimes used to indicate the absence of the ten symbol between the signs of the unit and the hundred or that of both the ten and unit symbols.² The third sign is certainly 1 and not 7 since its top is not sufficiently curved towards the left. Bhandarkar and Halder, who read 7 after the hundred symbol, apparently conjectured the second sign (i.e. the dot) to be joined with the top of the third (i.e. 1) probably because the rare use of the dot in numbers expressed in symbols, due to the growing influence of the decimal system, was not known to them. Their reading is justified neither by the facsimile published by Halder nor by the impressions examined by me. The palaeography of the Dabōk inscription does not go against its ascription to V.S. 701 (644 A.D.).

This date of the Dabōk inscription necessitates certain modifications in our views on the history of Rajasthan as indicated above. In the first place, *Paramabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramādēva Dhavalappa* of this epigraph of 644 A.D. cannot be identified with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauja inscription of 738 A.D., although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grandfather) of the latter. Secondly, although the palaeography of our epigraph closely resembles that of the Mathurā fragmentary inscription of the Maurya king Karka Dīpdirāja, son of Āryarāja and grandson of Chandragupta, that ruler has to be assigned to a date about half a century later than Dhavalappa if the two kings belonged to the same house. This is because both the Dabōk and Mathurā inscriptions use the bipartite form of the letter *y* and it is difficult to assign the latter epigraph to a date much earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if Dhavalappa, who assumed the imperial style *Paramabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramādēva* by 644 A.D., was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty as he seems to have been, king Harsha of Kanauj must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of the Rajasthan region must have originally owed allegiance to him. In this connection, reference may be made to the assumption of imperial style by Maitraka Dharmasena IV of Valabhi, whose father was a subordinate ally of Harsha, by the Gupta-Vallabhi year 326 (644-45 A.D.).³

Among other points that may be noticed in this connection, we think it likely that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Nannappa, son of Bhāmāna, who is known from the Indraganj (near Bhānpurā in the Mandasaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription⁴ of Vikrama 767 (710 A.D.) was a feudatory of these Mauryas probably of Kannaḍa origin, as indicated above, like the Rāshtrakūṭas. Without further light on the history of these Mauryas, however, it can not be said that king Lōka of the Nargari (Tonk District, Rajasthan) inscription⁵ of Vikrama 1043 (987 A.D.) also owed allegiance to them since Rajasthan and Malwa appear to have been occupied by the Gurjara-Pratihāras before 783 A.D.

These Mauryas are mentioned in inscriptions found at Mathurā and at certain places in Rajasthan and Karka Dīpdirāja (about the close of the seventh century A.D.) of this family claimed to have burnt the city of Kanauj. But the inscriptions do not throw any light on the location of their capital. According to the bardic traditions of Mewar, Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta who was the founder of the Guhila house, was in the service of his uncle, the Mōri (Maurya) ruler of Chitōr and, after repulsing a barbarian invasion from Gajni, seized the crown of the latter.⁶ But it is difficult to determine whether Chitōr was the Maurya capital or the headquarters of one of the

¹ See Plate LXXIV-a. In this case the 100 symbol resembles *at* instead of *aa*.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 and p. 216, text line 22.

³ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1345-49.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2.

⁶ See DHNT, Vol. II, p. 1154.

Maurya viceroys. The Jain tradition representing king Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Chandragupta Maurya¹ may refer to Yaśovarman's relations with Karka Pindīrāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Chandragupta.² But we cannot say that the Mauryas transferred their capital to Kanauj sometime before the accession of Yaśovarman since the Maurya king Dhavalātman (738 A.D.) was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is, however, not impossible that the Mauryas conquered Kanauj and stationed there a scion of their family as a viceroy and that Yaśovarman was a member of this viceregal family which had thrown off the yoke of the main branch of the dynasty.

Several branches of the Guhīla family, all apparently owing allegiance originally to king Harsha of Kanauj and later to the Mauryas, were ruling in different parts of the Udaipur Division during the seventh century A.D. Guhīla Dhanika of the Dabōk inscription had his headquarters at Dhavagartā while another branch of the family represented by Paḍḍa (c. 625 A.D.), Dāvagana (c. 640 A.D.), Bhāvikuta (654 A.D.), Bhṛṭṭi (679 A.D.), Bābhata (689 A.D.) and Kadschhi (c. 700 A.D.) had its capital at Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāpur in the Bhomat District.³ At the same time, a third branch of the family, to which Aparājita of an inscription⁴ of Vikrama 718 (661 A.D.) in the Kuṇḍāvar temple at Nāgdā near Udaipur belonged, was probably ruling from Nāgahrada (Nāgdā). Śilāditya of the Sāmūli inscription of 644 A.D., if he was really a Guhīla, also belonged to the Nāgdā branch and was the predecessor of Aparājita. Later records of this house begin the genealogy with the following names : (1) Bhōja (born in the family of Guhadatta belonging to a Brāhmaṇa family hailing from Ānandapura, i.e. modern Vāḍnagar in Northern Gujarat), (2) his successor Mahendra, (3) his successor Nāga, (4) his successor Śīla (i.e. Śilāditya, 644 A.D.), and (5) his successor Aparājita (661 A.D.).⁵ Another branch of the family seems to be represented by the chasen and Nāgar inscriptions referred to above.

¹ Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 194.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 208-09.

³ See above, pp. 278 f.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, No. 12; above, Vol. IV, p. 31.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 86; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,
Government Epigraphist for India.

SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR

Enlarged

Obverse



Reverse



Actual



(from Photographs)

No. 13—SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR, SAKA 1736

(I Plate)

A. N. LAHIRI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.11.1960)

While discussing the Koch and Jaintia coins in *JASB*, April 1910 (cf. p. 161, note 1; p. 166) H. E. Stapleton published a rupee of king **Gōvindhachandra** of Kachār. The coin was then in the possession of a descendant of Gōvindhachandra's Prime Minister. It is stated to have been .93 inch in diameter and 175.75 grains in weight. The reproduction shows that it was struck from a good die. Stapleton pointed out how the coin settled the question 'whether Kachāri coins were ever struck'. Since then, however, more Kachār coins issued by earlier rulers have come to light.¹

The coin has four lines of writing on each side. The legend is in **Bengali characters**. Stapleton read it with the help of R.D. Banerji as follows:

Obverse	Reverse
1 Śrī-Śrī-Gō-	1. Hāḍimbapū-
2 vindhachandrasya	2 radhāma-Śrī-Raga-
3 śāḍḍ	3 chaḍḍi-padā-
4	4 [bja]-jusha[h]

Unfortunately the above reading of the legend is both inaccurate and incomplete. Moreover, what has been taken as the reverse by Stapleton is really the obverse of the coin. The portion of the legend on that side is actually an epithet of the king and the writing is continued on the other side.

On the obverse, the first expression reads *Hāḍimbapū-adhīsa(śa)* and not *Hāḍimbapūradhāma*. Thus the complete legend on the obverse is: *Hāḍimbapūradhīsa(śa)-Śrī-Ragachhaḍḍi-padā-jusha[h*]*. The last six akṣaras on the reverse, which Stapleton and Banerji could not read at all, are clearly: 'aga-try-adri-kau Sa(Sa)kē'. They actually give the date of the coin in a chronogram. Since this fact was not realised, the coin was regarded as undated.²

The legend on both sides of the coin is a stanza in *Anuśṭubh*, the obverse and reverse containing respectively the first and second halves of the verse.

TEXT

Obverse*	Reverse*
1 Hāḍimbapū-	1 Śrī-Śrī-Gō-
2 r-adhīsa(śa)-Śrī-Raga-	2 vindhachandrasya
3 chaḍḍi-padā-	3 śāḍḍ-aga-try-a-
4 jusha[h*]	4 d[r]i-kau Sa(Sa)kē [h*]

¹ For some coins of Yaśovarāhyas and Pratāparādyas, see *Botham, Num. Suppl.*, XX, Art. 120, pp. 556, 57, and Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1-5, and for a coin of Tāmraditya, see *JASB*, 1910, p. 160, Plate XXIII, No. 19, with *Num. Suppl.*, op. cit., p. 557. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that there are 90 coins of the three kings in the British Museum.

² Cf. Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1929, p. 235, note.

³ On this side, there are some floral designs to the left of the first line of writing and on both sides of the last.

⁴ There is a dotted line below the legend.

TRANSLATION

(*Tāsa* is the coin) of king *śrī-śrī Gōvīndachandra*, the lord of *Haḍḍimbapūr* and devoted to the feet of *śrī-Rāgachandī*, (struck) in the *Śaka* (year counted by) *aṅga* (i.e. 6), *tri* (i.e. 3), *adri* (i.e. 7) and *ku* (i.e. 1), (i.e. in *Śaka* 1736).

The importance of the coin lies in the fact that it gives the date in *chronogram* which is not generally noticed in the legends on the coins of the medieval Hindu rulers. It is again one of the very few coins issued by the Hindu kings of medieval India to bear a *versified legend*.¹ Now, *Hiḍimbā* is the old name of *Kāchār*, and *Haḍḍimbapūr*, 'the city (i.e. the capital) of *Hiḍimbā*', is probably to be identified, as proposed by Stapleton, with *Silberband*, near *Khāspūr*, in the *Kāchār* Plains, where, according to Gait, the ruins of the palaces of the last three *Kāchār* kings are still to be found.²

Rāgachandī must have been the tutelary deity of the kings of *Kāchār*. She is apparently 'the *Thakoorain* of *Kachar*' who, according to Captain Fisher, 'is adored under the symbol of a sword religiously preserved in the *Rajbari*, and to the possession of which the most inexplicable importance is attached'.³

Gōvīndachandra succeeded his brother *Krishnachandra* to the throne of *Kāchār* in 1813 A.D. *Śaka* 1736 (1814-15 A.D.), when the coin was struck, thus seems to be the date of his coronation. He was an unhappy ruler, beset with innumerable troubles. Soon after his assumption of power, a stable servant of his predecessor, by name *Kohi Dās*, led a rebellion which was continued, after the rebel's assassination by his son *Tulārām*. Not only this, *Chaurajit Sīnha*, the exiled *Manipur* king then a refugee in *Kāchār*, and his brother *Gambhīr Sīnha*, who was the *Commander-in-Chief* of the *Kāchār* Army, conspired against *Gōvīndachandra* and ousted him (about 1819)⁴ from his kingdom which was then divided amongst themselves and their brother *Mārajit Sīnha* who had been driven away from the *Manipur* throne by the *Burmese*.⁵ *Gōvīndachandra* took shelter in *Sylhet* and sought the help of the *British* without success. He was eventually removed to *Dacca*.⁶ After a long time, however, *Gōvīndachandra's* case was taken up by the *British*. He was restored to the *Kāchār* throne about 1825 under *British* protection and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 *sikka* rupees. The authorities of the *East India Company*, on their part, arranged to provide for the maintenance of the *Manipur* princes who were persuaded to leave *Kāchār* and reside within *British* territory.⁷

But *Gōvīndachandra's* enemies never allowed him to rest in peace. According to a conspiracy planned by *Gambhīr Sīnha*, a band of *Manipuris* entered the royal palace with the help of the king's *Manipur* bodyguard and hacked him to pieces on the night of the 24th April 1830.⁸ After his death, his kingdom was annexed to the *British* territories.⁹

¹ For the *Indore Rupee* of King *Yashvanta Rāo*, dated *Śaka* 1728, bearing a versified legend, see C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Plate XII, No. 7.

² *JASB*, 1910, p. 186.

³ "Memoir of *Sylhet, Kachar and the Adjacent Districts*" in *JASB*, 1840, pp. 832-33.

⁴ See Gait, op. cit., p. 237.

⁵ See R. M. Lalit, *The Assassination of Assam*, pp. 42-45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

No. 14—FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINCAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20.7.1960)

Kandhār (also spelt as Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Taluk of that name, is 32 miles southwest of Nāndēd in the Nander District, formerly in Hyderabad State but now in Maharashtra. In February 1959, while Mr. Bhattacharya was camping at Nāndēd, Shri V. R. Mahiskar, Headmaster of the Kandhār Government High School, gave him information about the existence of the stone inscription under study and was kind enough to accompany him to Kandhār and to take him to the findspot of the epigraph. The inscribed stone slab lies near an old well called 'the Khās Bāg well' in the locality called Bahādurpur nearly a mile from the present town of Kandhār. The place abounds in ruined structures and images and ruins of old buildings are still to be noticed around the well. The well also is old, its sides and steps being built of stone. Shri Mahiskar told Mr. Bhattacharya that, when the well dried up in the summer of 1957, the stone slab bearing the inscription was found in its bed and that it was taken out and kept at the spot where it is lying now.

The most notable existing structure at Kandhār is the Fort just outside the town. There is no doubt that the Fort was built before the advent of Muhammadans there. The present Dargah and the mosque inside the Fort have pillars of old Hindu temples. But there is no record of the Hindu rulers anywhere inside the Fort. The town of Kandhār also abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jain images. Still old images and Śivaliṅgas come out here and there while people dig for the foundation of a house. That the Muslim occupation of Kandhār led to the destruction of the temples is demonstrated by the mosque in the town, which is an old Hindu shrine turned into a Muslim religious establishment by means of superficial changes in the construction.

The lower part of the inscribed stone slab, which was originally a pillar, is broken. It is written on three sides of the stone; but the lower part of the writing is lost in all of them. The record is thus fragmentary and contains three fragments of what was originally a big pillar inscription. Of the inscription on the three sides, the writing on the third is better preserved while that on the second is badly damaged. There is the figure of Śivaliṅga on the Yōni-patta flanked by a devotee pouring water on the Yōni-patta on the left and a bull on the right above the writing on the first side. The slab, as it now is, measures about 27 inches in height while the width of the broad faces, one of them bearing the first part of the inscription, is about 16 inches, the breadth of the two side faces being 10·2 inches each. The lines of writing on the first face are thus slightly longer than those on the other two inscribed faces. Individual letters without vowel-marks, excluding conjuncts, are each a little above half an inch in height. The letters on the third side are slightly smaller in size than those on the other two sides. There are seventeen lines of writing on the first side together with traces of another line, while the second and third sides contain twenty-six lines each. The three inscribed faces of the pillar will be hereinafter called as A, B and C.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Dholi* (Śaka 862), Kolhāpur* and Karhād* (Śaka 882) plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and the undated Chinchani plate* belonging to the same king's reign. But some of the conjuncts show a slightly more developed form than found in the other records (cf. *śāmi* in *A*, line 2, *śā* in *A*, line 4 and *śā* in *A*, line 16, etc.). The formation of the letter *kṛ* (*A*, line 16) is also later. From this fact it may be conjectured that the record under study is slightly later than those mentioned above. The initial vowels *a* (*A*, lines 8, 10; *B*, line 8), *i* (*A*, lines 9, 13; *C*, lines 8, 14), *u* (*A*, line 11; *C*, line 13) and *ṛ* (*A*, lines 14, 15) occur in the inscription. The *spadhamāṣṭya* appears in *A*, line 12 and final *ṛ* in *A*, line 11; *B*, lines 6, 16; and *C*, line 20. The sign for *e* has been employed in indicating *ś* excepting *śā* in *A*, line 3. Like the Chinchani plate, the record begins with the *Prasava* symbolically represented.

The language is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. All the seven stanzas found in the extant introductory part of the inscription on the first face of the pillar are also found in the corresponding part of the Dholi, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III with negligible variations. In this part, the Dholi and Kolhāpur plates add two other stanzas while the Karhād plates add a third new verse along with those two. As regards orthography also, the present record resembles the same epigraphs. In one case *Samhā* has not been observed in a verse (*A*, line 6). Final *v* has been changed to *anuvā* wrongly in some cases. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The extant parts of the inscription bear **no date**. But, on grounds of palaeography and the fact that the introductory stanzas are also found in the Dholi, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates, the inscription may be referred to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), probably to its latter part.

There are seven stanzas in *A* (lines 1-17) after the symbolical representation of the *Prasava*, the last of the verses being incomplete. The rest of the writing on the said face of the stone is lost. Verse 1 is in praise of the god Mūrāri (i.e. Viṣṇu) while verse 2 praises the god Tripuraviṣayin (i.e. Śiva). The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the Moon-god as one whose part is held on his head by the god Saṁhā (Śiva). It is then stated in verse 4 how the **Yadu family** sprang from the Moon-god. Verse 5 refers to the birth of the Primeval Male (i.e. Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa) in that family with the purpose of destroying the demons and to the kings of the said family, who, owing to their pre-eminent fame and valour, became known in the world as the **Tuṅgas**. Verse 6 informs us that, in that lineage which was known as the *Rāshtrakūṭa-kula*, was born **Dantidurga** while the following stanza (verse 7), the concluding part of which is lost, tells us how, after **Dantidurga**, his paternal uncle, king **Kṛishṇarāja**, became the ruler of the earth and constructed numerous temples of the god Īvara (Śiva). The present epigraph does not refer to the eponymous **Rāja** mentioned in the Karhād and Dholi plates as the progenitor of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. But, line them, it refers to **Tuṅga** as another name of the Rāshtrakūṭas, though the Dholi plates have *Sātyaki-vṛyga-bhāṣa* (i.e. members of the lineage of Sātyaki) instead of the expression *tuṅga-yāda-prabhāṣa* found in the Karhād plates and the present record and refer to the *Rāshtrakūṭa* descent from the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu family.

As indicated above, the latter part of the genealogy including the mention of Kṛishṇa III, to whom the epigraph apparently belongs, is lost. But, from the other records of the said Rāshtra-

* Above, Vol. V, pp. 168 ff. and Plates.

* *JBBRAS*, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 21 ff. and Plates.

* Above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. and Plates.

* Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. and Plate.

kāta king, we can restore the genealogy as follows : (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) ; (2) his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I (756-75 A.D.) ; (3) his son Gōvinda II (775-80 A.D.) ; (4) his younger brother Nirupama Kalivallabha (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.) ; (5) his son Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.) ; (6) his son Nripatuṅga (Amōghavarsha I, 814-78 A.D.) ; (7) his son Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa II (873-915 A.D.) ; (8) his grandson Indra III (915-38 A.D.) ; (9) his son Amōghavarsha II (928-29 A.D.) ; (10) his younger brother Suvarṇavarsha Gōvinda IV (929-34 A.D.) ; (11) his paternal uncle Amōghavarsha III (934-39 A.D.) ; and (12) his son Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.).

The text of the record in *B* starts with the meritorious and munificent activities probably of Kṛishṇa III. In the first part (lines 1-8), it records what was apparently the first group of provisions made to various people by the ruler. The first reference is to the bards (*vaṃśi-jana*) who used to praise the noble qualities of one and received [each] two hundred *Drammas* together with a pair of clothes probably per year. Next, provision of a hundred *Drammas* and a pair of clothes is made for each of a group of persons whose duty was to recite sacred texts four times a day. The third provision of fifty *Drammas* and a pair of clothes was made in favour [of each] of another group of reciters. These look like payments to be made to palace servants. But their inclusion is difficult to understand even if they were especially liberal and were introduced in a new palace or capital. It is, however, well known that the deities worshipped in temples are treated as kings and it may be that the reference is to certain categories of servants in a temple. It should, however, be admitted that the first sentence in this section seems to refer to a king and not to a deity.

The reference to the second group of pious deeds in the next section (lines 8 ff.) begins with a description of *Kālamēgha* which was probably a secondary name of the donor. This section mentions the provision made for offering meals to the [Brahmanas] numbering thirty, who were engaged in reciting the Vēdas, in the *sutra-śālā* (free feeding house) close to [the temple of] the god Kālapriya. Next is mentioned the provision of two *prasthas*¹ of oil and one *prastha* of salt daily in order to meet the requirements of the college (*vidyāsthāna*), situated on the bank of the Nāndī in the Gōdāvari valley (*Gōdāvari-taṭ-ādhyaśini Nāndī-taṭe*) and belonging to the Brahmanas engaged in studies. For this purpose, arrangements had to be made for the storing of nine *khaṇḍikās*² of oil and four and a half *khaṇḍikās* of salt by purchasing the articles from the *grāma-koṭaka* (i.e. the villages and valleys around the town where the inscription was set up). For the bulk purchase of the articles, arrangements were made for the daily payment, in a lump sum, of the price of oil and salt required per day.

The pious work described in *C* is of a nature different from that mentioned in *B*. The first deed referred to in this part is the construction of a *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) named *Sarvalōkārāya* near [the temple of] the well-known god Kṣhētrapāla (probably a local deity or Śiva). Then follows the description of the setting up of five centres for the distribution of water (*praspā*), for the amelioration of the suffering of the people during summer, at five places, viz. (1) the *makara-tōraya* (the gate-way with the *makara*-motif) in the royal palace (*rāja-grāha*), (2) the *Yaksha-dvāra* (another gate-way endowed with Yaksha figures) adorned with [the image of the god] *Maṇḍalasiddhi Vināyaka*,³ (3) the front of the temple of Kāmadēva close to the area where the chief courtesans of the king lived (*pradhāna-rāja-vilāśini-pāṭaka*), (4) the courtyard of [the temple of] the god Kālapriya, and (5) the above-mentioned pavilion named *Sarvalōkārāya*. Similarly, fire-places (*agnī-śālikā*) were constructed at five places for saving the poor people from suffering from cold during

¹ A *prastha* is variously regarded as 6, 16 or 32 *pālas*, 1 *palā* being equal to 4 *śūlas*.

² *Khaṇḍikā* is the same as modern *Candy* often regarded as equal to 500 pounds.

³ Cf. a goddess installed in the gate-way (probably in a pavilion) or a temple as mentioned in the Chifchani plate of the time of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56).

winter. These five places were: (1) the pavilion called *Sarvaśōkāsraya* in the courtyard of *Maṇḍalaśiddhi* (probably the same as *Maṇḍalaśiddhi-Vimāyaka* worshipped at the *Yaksha-dvāra*), (3-3) two places (*pradēśa-drōṇa*) near [the temple of] *Kālapriya*, (4) the front of [the temple of the god] *Sagarvāśvara* situated (*prasthānā*) on the embankment (*pālī*) of [the tank called] *Jagattūṅga-samudra*; and (5) the vicinity of [the temple of the god] *Baṅkēśvara* situated in the north (i.e. to the north of the *Sagarvāśvara* temple). The arrangements were made for the provision of two tankfuls of water (*jala-drōṇa*) and troughfuls of fodder for the cattle (*gō-grāśā*) at five places, viz. (1) the market of the *Gūṛjara* (*Gūṛja-ṣṭapa*), (2-4) the temples of the deities *Vīraṇārāyaṇa*, *Śrīkṛiṣṇēśvara* and *Kaṭṭirapāla*, and (5) the much-frequented market place (*kṣhūṇṇa-kṣṭṭikā*). To meet the expenses of the above, the amount of fifty *Draṇmas* was allotted per day. Then, for the *pañchāṅgī*¹ ablution with *pañchōpachāra*,² curds and milk and flower offerings for the temples of the gods *Baṅkēśvara*, *Chhallēśvara*, *Gōjijigasōmanātha*, *Tumbēśvara* and *Tuṇḍigēśvara* were provided for at the expense of 500 *Draṇmas* per month. [The provision of] 1 *āṣṭaka*³ and 55 *palas* of candied sugar (*khaṇḍa*) and 1104 *palas* of sandal (*śrīkhaṇḍa*) is next mentioned. The rest of the text is lost.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it helps us in locating the city of *Kandhārapura* sometimes mentioned in connection with *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Kṛiṣṇa* III. This king is described as *Kṛiṣṇa-Kandhāra* with the title *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhipāra* in the *Haṇḍikeri* (Belgaum District, Mysore) stone inscription⁴ of the *Raṭṭa* chief *Lakṣmīdēva* I (also called *Lakṣmaṇa* or *Lakṣmīdhara*) of *Saundattī*, probably dated in 1209 A.D. As the existence of modern *Kandhār* was unknown to Fleet, he observed, "Later records of the *Raṭṭa* chieftains of *Saundattī* of the thirteenth century A.D. speak of him (i.e. *Kṛiṣṇa* III) as *Kṛiṣṇa-Kandhara* and *Kṛiṣṇa-Kandhāra*, with the title of *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhipāra* or 'supreme lord of *Kandhārapura*, the best of towns'—a place, however, which is otherwise unknown."⁵ He further says, "I do not know of any other mention of such a town in genuine documents. But at *Hirē-Kummi* and *Sattigeri* in the *Paraga* taluka, Belgaum District, and at *Surkōḍ* or *Surkōr* in the *Rāmdurg* State, there are spurious copper-plate charters, without dates, which purport to have been issued by the same king, who is called in them the *Chakravartī* *Kanhara* and *Kṛiṣṇa-Kanhara*, and is styled *Kandhāra-pur-ādhipāra*; the *Surkōḍ* or *Surkōr* record also says that he was reigning at *Kanhārapura*."⁶ He then concludes that 'the name (i.e. *Kandhārapura*) may possibly have been invented from an imaginary *Kṛiṣṇa-pura* derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern *Chālūkyā* king *Guṇaka Vijayāditya* III is said to have effected the burning of the city of *Kṛiṣṇa* II'.⁷ There is, however, really no such 'passage' referring to 'the burning of the city of *Kṛiṣṇa* II'.⁸

¹ This is the five kinds of divine food, viz. milk, curd, clarified butter, honey and sugar.

² These five are articles of worship sometimes also regarded as 10, 16, 18 or 64 in number.

³ The *āṣṭaka* is often regarded as equal to 16, 32 or 64 *palas*.

⁴ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 550. Another record of the same *Raṭṭa* family, dated in 1218 A.D., describes the *Raṭṭas* of *Saundattī* as belonging to the lineage of *Kṛiṣṇa* III who is mentioned as *Kṛiṣṇa-Kandhāra* (*JBRAS*, O.S., Vol. X, p. 251).

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 550, note 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 234, note 4.

⁸ *Hultzsch* (*SI*, Vol. I, p. 25, note 3) and *Fleet* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102, note 26) believed that *Kṛiṣṇa-pura*, the city burnt by the Eastern *Chālūkyā* king *Guṇaka-Vijayāditya* III, was a mistake for *Kṛiṣṇapura*, which *Fleet* identified with the city of *Māhād*, the capital of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*. But *Kṛiṣṇapura* occurs in several records like the *Pitṭāpuram* (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 239) and *Mallyapūṇḍi* (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 51) plates. *Altekar* identifies *Kṛiṣṇapura* with *Kṛiṣṇapur* in the *Baleghat* District of *Madhya Pradesh* (*The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 95). The *Pitṭāpuram* plates mention *Sankila* (*Kalachuri Sankaragana*) as stationed at *Kṛiṣṇapura* in the company of *Kṛiṣṇa* (line 40: *paṇḍitaśchakṛiṣṇa-kṛiṣṇapura-paṇḍita* *Kṛiṣṇa-jātama*) while the *Mallyapūṇḍi* plates refer to *Kṛiṣṇarāja* as stationed at *Kṛiṣṇapura* (line 43: *Kṛiṣṇapura-ādhipāra* *Kṛiṣṇarāja*).

The Sanskrit name *Krishṇa* appears in the Kannada records as *Kannara*, *Kannāra*, *Kanhāra*, *Kanhāra*, *Kandara*, *Kandāra*, *Kandhara* and *Kandhāra*.¹ The mention of *Krishṇa* III as the lord of *Kandhārapura* in the epigraphs of the *Raṭṭas* no doubt proves the existence of a city called *Kandhārapura* named after a *Rāshtrakūṭa* ruler called *Krishṇa* (i.e. *Kandhāra*). The present *Kandhār*, where the *Rāshtrakūṭa* inscription under study has been discovered, is apparently the same as *Kandhārapura* which was very probably a secondary capital of *Krishṇa* III.² Our record mentions a centre for the distribution of water (*propā*) in the gate-way inside the *rāja-grīha* or royal palace pointing to the existence of a residence of *Krishṇa* III at *Kandhāra*. That the ruler stayed there is further indicated, if not by the presence of the bards, at least by the existence of the quarters of the king's chief courtesans. It is therefore certain that *Krishṇa* III ruled from *Kandhār*, at least for sometime, probably in the latter part of his reign, and that his description as the lord of *Kandhārapura* in the epigraphs of the *Raṭṭas* of *Saundatti* is justified, even though in the earlier part of his rule he was reigning from *Mānyakhēṭa* or *Maikhēḍ* whence his *Dōli* plates were issued in *Śaka* 862 (940 A.D.). A copper-plate grant³ from *Sirūr* in the *Bagalkot Taluk* of the *Bijapur District* was issued from *Kandhārapura* by *Krishṇa-Kannaradēva-chakravartin*, who is called the son of *Gōvindarāja* and is described as *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhiśvara*. The characters of the record are *Nāgarī* of the 11th century and it is written in *Marāṭhī* and *Kannada*. The genuineness of the charter is of course not beyond doubt. But it is not impossible that its donor was a member of a later branch of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* house ruling from *Kandhār*.

The question now is: who was *Kandhāra* (*Krishṇa*) by whom *Kandhārapura* (*Kandhār*) was built and after whom it was named? *Amīr Hamza*, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Qandhār-i-Dakkān* (*Urdu*) states, on the authority of the *Sigar-i-Hind* and *Tārīkh-i-Khurehid Jāhī*, that *Kanhār* (i.e. *Kandhār*) was built by and named after king *Kanhār* of the *Pāṇḍava* dynasty.⁴ Although the *Pāṇḍava* dynasty is mythical, this tradition at least shows that *Kandhār* was built by and named after a king called *Kandhār*. The name of the king and the absence of pre-*Rāshtrakūṭa* antiquities at *Kandhār* suggest that this *Kandhār* was a *Rāshtrakūṭa* king. But was he *Krishṇa* III or one of his two predecessors bearing the same name? Let us see what indication there is on these points in the inscription itself.

Some of the personal names, after which certain deities worshipped at the place and a structure and a tank existing there according to our inscription were named, are: (1) *Kālapriya*, (2) *Sarvalōkārāya*, (3) *Jagattuḍiga*, (4) *Vīranārāyaṇa*, (5) *Krishṇa*, (6) *Gōjjiga* and (7) *Tuḍiga*. Of these the god *Tuḍigēśvara* was apparently named after *Krishṇa* III himself, since the name *Tuḍiga* (i.e. *Tuḍiga*) is applied to him in an inscription⁵ of the *Raṭṭas* of *Saundatti*. The name *Sarvalōkārāya* also reminds us of the fact that the same *Rāshtrakūṭa* king was sometimes called *Samastabhuvanārāyaṇa*⁶ which has exactly the same meaning. The names *Kālapriya* and *Krishṇēśvara* likewise remind us of the fact that the *Kanhād* plates were issued by *Krishṇa* III when he was camping at *Mēlpāṭī* (modern *Mēlpāḍī* in the *Chittur Taluk* and *District*), for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for his dependents (*dakṣhiṇa-dāna-maṇḍalāni bhṛtyābhyaḥ*).

¹ Cf. *J.H.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 244; Part II, pp. 334, 410 note 1, 468, 526, etc. The Prakrit name *Kannara* was also sometimes re-Sanskritized as *Karṇa*. See *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 122.

² Cf. *J.H.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1959, pp. 407 ff.

³ *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. A 20.

⁴ We are indebted for the reference to *Khwaja Moinuddin*, Inspector of Registration, *Aurangabad Division*, *Aurangabad*.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

Jinasak kartum), of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces (*manajalsaras*) and of erecting the temples of Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtasāgṛa, Kṛishṇāśvara, etc., in respect of the grant of a village in the Karahāta district to the head of a Śaiva religious establishment at Karahāta (modern Karhād).¹ The Kālapur plates also speak of the same deities, but add that, while the temple of Kālapriya was built in Kāñchī-maṇḍala, the Kṛishṇāśvara and Gaṇḍamārtasāgṛaditya temples were built in Bṛhachakrōpanta (i.e. the Sātubandha Rāmāśvara area). These records and the present inscription thus suggest that Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was fond of installing gods under the names Kālapriya and Kṛishṇāśvara, the second apparently after his own name.

As regards Kālapriya, it is well known that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who was an inhabitant of Padmapura within Vidarbha in Dakṣiṇapatha (probably modern Padmapur in the Bhandara District of Madhya Pradesh) and was a court poet of king Yaśovarman (c. 723-53 A.D.) of Kanauj, were staged before the god Kālapriyanātha² and that, according to the Cambay plates³ of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV (929-35 A.D.), his father Indra III (915-28 A.D.), while marching against Mahōdaya (Kanauj), camped for sometime in the temple of the god Kālapriya (i.e. Kālapriyanātha or the god worshipped at a place called Kālapriya) before crossing the Yamunā. There is little doubt that this Kālapriya, situated near the Yamunā and on the road from the south to Kanauj, is identical with modern Kālpi on the Jumna in the Jalaun District of U.P.⁴ It is thus possible to think that Kṛishṇa III, in the course of his northern expedition suggested by the discovery of one of his inscriptions in the present Maihar Tehsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh,⁵ emulated his grandfather Indra III in camping in the temple of Kālapriyanātha at Kālapriya (Kālpi) and became so much devoted to the god that he conceived the idea of installing deities of the same name in his own territory on his return. These facts and others already discussed above no doubt point to the close relations of Kṛishṇa III with Kandhārapura (Kandhār). But they do not prove that the city was built by and named after himself and did not exist before his time.

We have seen above that there is really no mention of a city named Kṛishṇapura (Kandhārapura) in relation to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. It is, however, interesting in this connection to note that the deity Gōjjigashmanātha, worshipped at Kandhār when our inscription was set up, was named after Gōjjiga which is the Kannada corruption of Gōvinda and is known to have been the popular name of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV.⁶ It may also be pointed out that Viranāṭayana, after whom a deity worshipped at Kandhār was named, was the secondary name of several Rāshtrakūṭa kings including Gōvinda IV.⁷ Thus it is not improbable that the city of Kandhārapura existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III. It may have been built by and named after an earlier Kṛishṇa of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, probably Kṛishṇa II.

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 299.

² The deity is usually but wrongly identified with Mahākālī of Ujjain. Cf. E. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 277 ff.; *Śivara, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 242 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 38, text lines 21-25: *Yas-mahād-rajat-danta-gāha-nishamam Kālapriya-prāgasam*
Grahā pu-taravair-nyātha-Pannā śāha-pratipadikā | pñāthā ā Mahāday-ār-napuram nirumillam
umillam āmāy-āpi jannā Kānāthā-māti bhūtim poram āpāt.

⁴ Cf. *Śivara*, op. cit., p. 244.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff. The northern expedition of Kṛishṇa III, especially against the Gurjara-Pratiharas king of Kanauj, is also hinted at in a verse in his copper-plate grants, which states how his success in the south led to the hope about Kālājara and Chitrakūṭa vanishing from the heart of the Gurjara (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihara king).

⁶ *Bauh. Gort.*, pp. 381, 410.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 190 (Amoghavarsha I), p. 416 (Gōvinda IV), p. 422 (Kakka II).

Jagattuṅga, after whom the tank called Jagattuṅga-samudra was named, may have been the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa III for whose merit the Rāshtrakūṭa king made the grant recorded in the Dūll plates.¹ If, however, the city existed before the days of Kṛṣṇa III, Jagattuṅga may also be the homonymous son of Kṛṣṇa II who died before his father.² If again, as indicated above, our inscription really mentions Kālanāga as the donor, it may have been a secondary name of Kṛṣṇa III. Although this name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king is not known from any other source, it reminds us of Dantidurga's secondary name Vairamāga.³

That the god Kālāpriya was very famous in the locality is indicated by the passage: *Kālikālāpi sakala-lōka-pratyakṣa-dīva-īkṣṭā-bhagavataḥ*, 'of the god Kālāpriya whose divine power is manifested to the whole world even in the Kali age.' Close to the tank in which the inscribed slab was found, there are traces of the plinth of some structure. That might have been the plinth of the temple of the god Kālāpriya. Two out of the five fire-places (*agni-sthāṇā*), the construction of which at five different spots is an interesting fact recorded in our inscription, were built near the temple of Kālāpriya. This may indicate that the place was frequented by many pilgrims.

In B, line 25, the king has been compared with the *Kaṭṭinapādapa* (i.e. *Kaṭṭaprikṣa*) for eradicating poverty of the people by various charitable measures. His sympathy was not confined to human beings, but was also shown towards cattle. We have seen that arrangement for the free supply of fodder and drinking water for the cattle was made at the cost of 50 *Draṇṇas* per day at five different places probably on the occasion of festivities in the temples when large numbers of people visited the city, many of them in carts. One of these is stated to have been made near the shop of the Gūjjaras who may have been the people of that name settled in different parts of the western regions of India. Their presence at Kandhār may be compared to that of the merchants of Bhīlāmāla (modern Bhīmāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at Sājān in the Thane District of Maharashtra as indicated by the Chīnāhami plate⁴ of the time of Kṛṣṇa III himself.

As regards the *Draṇṇa* currency referred to in the record, reference may be made to a Kanheri inscription⁵ of the time of Amoghavaraha I, which mentions two types of *Draṇṇas*, viz. gold and ordinary (silver). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in our inscription was of gold or silver. The provision for a pair of clothes in addition to the salary of the palace (or temple) servants reminds us of the *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 126, enjoining the payment of 1 *Paṇa* and 5 *Paṇas* per day respectively to a lower and higher grade servant together with a *Drōpa* of paddy per month and a pair of clothes every six months.

A centre for the free distribution of water during summer is stated to have been made in front of the temple of Kāmadēva attached to the quarters of the chief royal courtesans. The existence of the temple of Kāma, the god of love, near the courtesans' quarters indirectly points to the popularity of the deity among the courtesan class and is interesting to note.

As regards geographical names mentioned in the record, a college of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to have been situated on the bank of the Nāndi dominating the Gōdāvari valley. Kandhār stands on the Mānyad which falls in the Maḥjirā, a tributary of the Gōdāvari, and it appears that the Nāndi is identical with the modern Mānyad. The name of the Nāndi is certainly associated

¹ Ibid., p. 430.

² Ibid., p. 414. Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III was also known as Jagattuṅga (ibid., p. 204).

³ Ibid., p. 383, note 5; p. 393, note 7.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

with that of ancient Nāndīkaṣa mentioned as Nāndīkaṣa in the Basim plates¹ of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II (middle of the fourth century A.D.). The word *kaṣa* is often found at the end of geographical names and Nāndīkaṣa seems to mean a locality on the bank or in the valley of the Nāndī. The name of modern Nāndēd, about 33 miles from Kandhār, is no doubt derived from that of Nāndīkaṣa through the intermediate Prakrit form Nāndīkaṣa. Nāndēd, however, stands on the Gōdāvarī at a distance from the course of the modern Mānyad although, to justify the name, we have probably to think that the Nāndī originally joined the Gōdāvarī, near it. If such was the case, the course of the Nāndī has changed considerably since Nāndīkaṣa was founded at least before the middle of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT²

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Puṣpitaḡrā* ; verse 3 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 4 *Mālinī* ; verses 5-7 *Vacantatilaka*.]

First side

- 1 || Ōm³ namaḥ Śivāya || 8a jayati jagad-utsava-pravṛtta-prathana-parat
2 kara-pallavā Murārāḥ ||⁴ lāsad-amṛita-payat-kaṣ-āṁka-Lakṣmī-stana-kala-
3 [ś]-ānana-labdha-sannivṛtāḥ || [1*] Ja[ya]ti cha Girijā-kapōla-vimva(ba)-prag-
4 [h]iṭa-patra-vichitrit-āṁsa-bhittib ||⁵ Tripuravijayina[ḥ] priy-ōparō-
5 [dhā]d-dhṛita-Madan-ābhaya-dāna-āśana-ōva || [2*] Śrīmān-asti nabhasat-sika-ti-
6 [la]kaḥ⁶ [trailōkya]-nōtr-ōtsavō dēvō Manmatha-vān(bān)dhavaḥ kumadinī-nāthāḥ Sudhā-
7 [d]hṛitib | nihāṣah-āmarā-tarppaḥ-ārpita-tanu-prakṣipat-āṁkṛit⁷-ya-
8 ay-āṁsah ei(ā)maḥ gaṇa-priyatayā nūnam dhṛitāḥ Sambhūnā || [3*] [Abha]vad-amala-
9 [kānti]-taḥ ya vamaḥ maṇināḥ gaṇa iva Yadu-varṇaḥ dugdhasindhūyam[ā]-
10 nā | adhigata-hari-nīla-prōllasan-nāyaka-śrī-śāṁhila-gaṇa-saṁgō
11 bhūṣaṇa[ḥ] yō bhuvō-bhū[ḥ] || [4*] Udvṛitta-dāitya-kula-ka[ḥ]dala-śānti-bhūta-tatr-
āvatāra[m-a]-
12 dabbūt⁸-Purushaḥ purāṇaḥ | tad-vatṣājā jagati tūṅga-yatāḥ prabhāvā⁹-Tum-
13 [g]ā iti kṣitibhūjaḥ prathitā va(ba)bhūvuh || [5*] Tat-santatau samabhavad¹⁰-bhuvana-
14 prasiddha-śrī-Hāṣṭrakōṭakula-[n]āmani Daritidurggaḥ |¹¹ ēkam cakāra catur-a-
15 vdhya(bdhy-a)pakṣaṣṭha-sīma-kṣētroḥ ya ōtad-am-lāṅgala-bhinna-durggaḥ || [6*] Tasmād-
ap[ā]-

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 140.

² From impressions. For a few suggestions we are indebted to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

³ Expressed symbolically.

⁴ Read "lāsad".

⁵ The other texts have "dantān-mahat".

⁶ The Decoll text has *Sāyaka-śaṅga-bhāṣa*.

⁷ The half of the stanza is found in the other grants as *Tasmād-nānti-santā-śaṅka-chāra-śaṅka-nānti-bhūva-
nānti-śa-Daritidurggaḥ*.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26

- 16 [la]yad=imāh vāṣṭhām pūṭivyaḥ śrī-Kṛishṇarāja-nripatīḥ śaraḍ-śabha-śubh[er]aḥ [1*]
 17 [yat]-kārī-śvara-grihair=vasumatya[nēka-Kai]— —
 18 — — — — — [1*]

Second Side

- 1 [m]i[ti]v[?] pūṇy-ānuvāṇ(ba)dhinī dāna-pravṛtti[?]yaś-śuvāṇ(ba)dhinī
 2 dhinī[?] [1*] [ā]d-guṇa-stati-niva(ba)ddham jāti-vṛtti-māḥm vi-
 3 [ch]i[ra]-māṇi-mālikām-iva kath(ka)ṇṭhē kurvatāṇ vāṇḍi-ḥ-
 4 [nā]māṇ drama-śata-dvayaṇ dra 200 vāstra-yugam-ēkaṇ(kam) || cha-
 5 .lam¹ paṭhatāṇ drama-śataṇ=ēkaṇ | dra 100 vāstra-yu-
 6 [ga]m = i. ḍa-pāṭha-praṇaymāṇ dramāḥ paṭichāṇ
 7 dra 50 vāstra-yugam-ēkaṇ(kam) || maty-anurāga[?]kshē[m-ḍ]ddēṣa [dā]-
 8 na-pravṛtti[?] | dvitīya-cha [1*] avirata-mad-āmva(bu)-vṛṣṭir-ddō[shā]-
 9 kara-tapana-magḍal-āvarapāḥ prasamita-pata-va(ba)la-
 10 dhūliḥ kalit-āchita-Kālamāg-ākhyaḥ | [tasy-ā]-
 11 nēka-ma(ma)ra-sadikēta-maṣa(ya)-sannihita-vijaya .²
 12 samāgama-prasasta-bhūṭasya śatru-khaya-[parama] .
 13 [an-ād]ya-hastinō yasaḥ ... dāna-simhasya . . .
 14 tathā hi śrī-Kālapriyasya bhagavataḥ sampavartti-
 15 nyāṇi [satra]-śālāyam vād-āmrīta-pavitrīta-mukhāṇāṇ [trih]-
 16 [a]t-sandhyāṇāṇ-āhāra-dānaṇ(nam) || tathā Gōdāvarī-ta-
 17 [t-ā]dhyāni³ [Nāndi]-tātē | nira[va]ḍya-vidy-ārjāna-
 18 [ju]ṣhām dvijanmanāṇi sathva(ba)ndhinō vidyāsa(sihā)naṣya anōha-
 19 lavaga-samsgratā-sampādanāya [1*] dīnam⁴-prati taila-
 20 [pra]jātha-dvayaṇ lavagasya ch-āikam prasthām vidhāya va(ta)thā cha .⁵
 21 ma-kāṭaka-kṛēpikēna dēyā-tailasya kha[ṇḍi] .⁶
 22 [na]va | lavagasya khaṇḍikā-ā-ārthā-cha(tasra)ḥ | Ta-
 23 [d-ndō]ṣa cha dīn-ānu(dīnam)⁷ ras-ārgha-piṇḍēna kḥ[?]ṭika-
 24 ay-āvalambanāḥ . . . | tad-āvaṇ nirākṛita-daridra-

¹ The reading of the lost letters can be restored from the other grants as "lāca-śāla-nichit-ānt chāraṇ vāḥāḥ".

² The original may have read chāṭak-āḥam.

³ The word lost here may have been khaṇḍikā.

⁴ The verb *adhyat* has been used here in the sense of 'to preside over, influence, rule,' so that *Gōdāvarī-ta-ādhyāni* would mean 'dominating over the Gōdāvarī valley' or 'predominant in the Gōdāvarī valley'.

⁵ The *drapa* is unnecessary.

⁶ The lost letters at the end of the line may have been *prā*.

⁷ The word is obviously *khaṇḍikā*.

⁸ These two letters appear to stand for a word like *krīṇam*.

25. [ja]n-ōpadravah(va)ni-upapādit-ākalpa-kalyāṇa-pā[da]pa
 26. prasara-niya[ta]ch(tam) | pra.....
 27.

Third Side

- 1 Tathā prasiddha-Kaśētrapāla-samipā evivṛta-prāvarag-[-ā]-
 2 atara-ādi-parikaraḥ Sarvvalōkārāya-nāmā math[da]-
 3 paḥ || tathā rūjagrūh-āntar-vartti-makaratoṣaṇḍa | Math[da]-
 4 [la]siddhivānyaka-mamdi[ta]-yaka-ivāṣ | pradū[na]-
 5 rājaviṣiṇi-pāṭaka-sannihita-Kāmalēv-ā[ya]-
 6 tana-purōbhāgē | Kalikālā-pi sakala-lōka-pra-
 7 [tya]kha-divya-āktār-bhagavataḥ śrī-Kālapriyasya prāṅgaṇē |
 8 [pra]tītē cha Sarvvalōkārāya-mamdiapō | iti pañchasa sth[ā]-
 9 [nē]hu grishma-saṁtāpa-nirasana-khamāḥ dharmma-natapati-
 10 vilāśakāyamāna-mahima-sprīṣaḥ prapāḥ | ta-
 11 thā Maṇḍalesiddhi-prāṅgaṇē Sarvvalōkārāya-mamdiapō |
 12 Kālapriya-samipā-pralēsa-dvayē | Jagattuṅga-samu[dra]-
 13 [sya] pā[li]-pratishṭhitā[ta]-Saga[*]vāvara-purōbhāgē | udīchya-
 14 dig-varṭti-Vah(Bam)kēśvara-samipō | iti pañchasa sthānēḥu prala-
 15 ya-mahāplavāyamāna-hēmanva[ta]-kāla-pralēya-vilā[ti]-
 16 [shv-a]nātha-jana-parirekhaḥ-ārtham-agni-sthitikā[li]* | tathā
 17 [Gū]rjar-āpaṇa-Viraṇārāyaṇa-śrī-Kṛishṇa-śvara-Kaśētrap[ā]-
 18 la-khaṇḍa-hattikāsu¹ pañchasa sthānēḥu gavāṁ svachchhaṇḍa-pā-
 19 n-āhāra-nimittam [ja]la-drōgyō[nyau] gō-grāsā-cha tat-pratikara-
 20 ṇāya² pratidinam dramam pañchāsat dra 50 tathā Vam(Bam)kē-
 21 śvara-Cchhallāśvara-Gōjugaśomanātha-Tumvō[mō]śvara-Tuḍigēśvarē-
 22 [shu] pañch-āyatanēḥu pañch-ōpachāra-sahitam pañch-āmṛita-an[ān-ō]-
 23 [pa]jyōgi-dadhi-dugdha-kusum-ārchana-nimittam mīa-ā[um]āsat
 24 [cha] dramam pañch pañcha-śatāni dra 500 khaṇḍasya-āik-ā[dhakaṁ]
 25 palāni pañcha-pañchāsat pa 50 śrikhaṇḍasya palāni [chatu]-
 26 [r-sdhikāni] śatāny-āikāśa 1104 pratidinam
 27.

¹ The word *iti* seems to be understood here.

² The word *pratikaraṇa* means 'repaying', 'compensation', etc. But here it has been used in the sense of 'meeting the expenses'.

No. 15—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, COTACAMUND

(Received on 29.9.69)

1. *Khilôr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmārpa), Śaka 1075*

About the beginning of 1956, I copied an inscription¹ engraved on the door-jamb of the Śiva temple at **Khilôr** (P. O. Arisal) near the Delang railway station in the Puri District of Orissa. The writing covers an area about three feet in length and ten inches and a half in height. There are six lines of writing, individual *akṣaras*, excluding consonants with vowel marks, being a little above one and a half inches high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory since the right half of line 1 and most of the letters in the corresponding section of line 2 are lost. A few letters are also lost at the end of the other lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as found in the Orissan records of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit. The date of the record as quoted in lines 1-2 is only partially preserved. After giving the Śaka year in figures as **10[75]**, the corresponding regnal or *caṅka* year in the regnal reckoning of a king must have been quoted together with other details of the date. But, of this section which mentions the secondary name of the king in question as **Anantavarman**, the king's principal name and the year of his regnal reckoning are lost, the available details of the date being [*śakā*]/*ha-śā-ṭṭiṅgāyām sa-* [*mukha*]/*ha-śā-ṭṭi*, i.e. **Āshāḍha-sudi 3, Sammukhavāra**. The use of the expression *sammukha-śā-ṭṭi* (literally, 'the week-day in the forefront') to indicate the day of the week is rather peculiar, although it seems to mean the first day of the week, i.e. Sunday. Unfortunately **Āshāḍha-sudi 3** in Śaka 1075 fell on Friday, the 26th June 1153 A.D. The date may thus be regarded as irregular.

There is no doubt that the king, mentioned in connection with the date of the record referred to above, belonged to the imperial branch of the Eastern Ganga dynasty which extended its power over the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa under king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1153 A.D., the Ganga throne was occupied by king **Kāmārpa**, the first of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who are known to have succeeded their father one after another. Kāmārpa ascended the throne in Śaka 1069 (1147 A.D.) and ruled for ten years down to Śaka 1078 (1156 A.D.).² We also know that most of the descendants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name³ and that king Kāmārpa is actually called Anantavarman in a number of inscriptions of his reign.⁴ It is, however, difficult to be sure whether the name Kāmārpa was mentioned after *Anantavarm[ma]* in line 1 of our inscription. About fifteen *akṣaras* are lost in this section and the reading may have been either *deva-vijayanāyaka-samantatāḥ... śakā*⁵ or *Kāmārpa-deva-rājya-samantatāḥ... śakā*.

¹ This is No. B 258 of *A. N. Ep.*, 1955-56, where the date has been wrongly read as Śaka 10[70] and the inscription has been assigned to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 242.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 2.

⁴ See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of an *sādhya-dīpa* or perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple at Khilōr where the inscription has been found. Lines 2-3 mention a person named Paḍālu Kātama who is described as a rich man of Kalinga-dāsa and as the son of Ponnāmā. This Ponnāmā is described as extremely religious and as attached to (*pratibaddha*, perhaps actually meaning 'hailing from') a place, the name of which ended in the *akṣaras mabata*. Lines 3-5 state that Paḍālu Kātama purchased, at the cost of five *māḍas* (probably of gold), a piece of land called Pōkhatalā¹ from the merchants (*sādhya-prajā*, literally, [the king's] merchant subjects) of Khēllaudēśvara (i.e. modern Khilōr) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god Khēllaudēśvara (i.e. the god Śiva worshipped in the Śiva temple at Khilōr), to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the *dharma* (virtue or religious merit) of his mother's mother (i.e. maternal grandmother). It appears that both the village of Khilōr and the god Śiva worshipped there are called Khēllaudēśvara in the inscription. The expression *Khēllaudēśvara-sādhya-prajā*, from whom the piece of land was purchased, does not appear to mean 'the honest tenants of the god Khēllaudēśvara' as it is unlikely that the tenants of the temple were rich enough to be in a position to sell a plot of land worth five coins probably of gold. Moreover, the expression *sādhya-prajā* occurs in a similar context in some other records associating it with a locality and not with a deity.² That the word *sādhya* in the expression *sādhya-prajā* means 'a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression *sādhya-pradhāna* in the Bhūhaneswar inscription of Rāghava.³

The coin called *māḍa* in our record is usually spelt as *māḍa* in Telugu inscriptions, as *māḍha* or *māḍhā* in Oriya records and as *māḍai* in Tamil epigraphs. The Telugu spelling in the inscription may have been due to the fact that the person responsible for it hailed from the present Telugu-speaking region. The word is derived from Sanskrit *māṣa* or *māṣā* through Tamil.

Lines 5-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the *tapōdhana* or the *tapōdhana*s (apparently the Śaiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khēllaudēśvara) and the *sādhya* or merchants probably meaning the *sādhya-prajā*s mentioned in lines 3-4. The second sentence states that the giver of a lamp (i.e. a perpetual lamp like the one installed by Paḍālu Kātama) does not commit the five great sins (i.e. becomes free from the sins owing to the merit resulting from the installation of the perpetual lamp).⁴ The record ends with the mention of the *sādhya* or mason whose name is partially preserved, but may have been Trilōka or Trilōchana. He was probably responsible for engraving the inscription.

Of the two geographical names mentioned in our record, Khēllaudēśvara is modern Khilōr as indicated above. The other name is Kalinga-dāsa which seems, in the present context, to have been the district around the city of Kalinganagara (near modern Śrikākulam) which was the capital of the early rulers of the Eastern Ganga family including the earlier members of its imperial branch.

¹ The expression *Pōkhatalā* may be compared with *Pāḍhamadāḍai* (i.e. the piece of land called *Pāḍhamadāḍai*) in line 23 of the Bhūhaneswar inscription of Gaṅga Narasimha (probably, Narasimha IV) published above, Vol. XXXII, p. 234. Cf. also *Pāḍhamadāḍai* in lines 5-9 of the Bhūhaneswar inscription of Bhūmadēva (ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 236, No. 1).

² Cf. line 5 of the inscription of the time of Rājārāja II, edited below.

³ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 160 and 161 (No. 1, text line 5).

⁴ This sentence may be compared with *dīpa-dāṭa savaṇṇa-māḍigat* at the end of the Bhūhaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga (ibid., p. 22, No. 1, text line 9). For an alternative suggestion about this passage, see note on the epigraphic text below.

TEXT

- 1 Saka-samvatsarē¹ 10[75] svasiti [śri²]mad-Anantavarman[ma].....³
- 2 dha-sita-triṣṭyāyān sa[mmu]kha-vārē Kaliṅgadēsa(śa)-dhan[ī].....⁴
- 3 makata-pratīva(ba)ddha-dharmu-aiṅgata-Pōṇnamā-putra-Padālu-Kāṭama-nāmā(mnā)
Khāllauḍēva(śva)[ra]⁵.
- 4 dhu-prajā-hastāt pañcha-māḍēna Pōkhatali-bhu(bhū)miā kritvā mātu[ś=cha] mātur=
dīharmu-ārthā⁶...
- 5 sva(śva)radvāya ā-chandr-ārkkha-paryantam⁷ akhaṇḍa-dīpaṁ datta[ti](ttam) | śtad-artham
tapōdhanu-sādhu...⁸
- 6 ripālanīyam(yam) | dīpa-hā(dā)tā pañchamā(ma)hāpātākī nō bhavati⁹ [ī¹⁰] su(sū)-
tradhāra-[Trilō]¹¹...

2. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājārāja II, Śaka 1094, [Aśka] Year 4

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and his immediate successors found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa have already been published by us in the pages of this journal¹² and elsewhere.¹³ Another such record is edited in the following pages from impressions belonging to the collection made by Hirananda Sastri in 1932 and preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The record occupies the space above an inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and two of the time of Rāghava.¹⁴ There are altogether nine lines of writing covering an area about twenty-eight inches in length and 17½ inches in height. Individual akṣaras are between one inch and one and a half inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. All

¹ From impressions.

² Read Śaka-samvatsarē.

³ The right half of the line is lost. The last two akṣaras of this part must have been Aśka².

⁴ Of this lost part, only traces of a few akṣaras are visible.

⁵ The akṣara lost here was apparently śa.

⁶ The akṣaras lost here appear to have been Khāllauḍē.

⁷ Read ā-chandr-ārkkha or chandr-ārkkha-paryantam.

⁸ The two akṣaras lost here appear to have been, śāḍ pa.

⁹ The intended reading of this sentence may also be dīpakaḍḍakā pañchamāhāpātākī bhavati.

¹⁰ The name of the sūtradhāra or engraver seems to have been Trilōka or Trilōchana.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff., 29 ff., 90 ff., 188 ff., 252 ff., etc.

¹² *I. d. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 121 ff.; Vol. VI, pp. 71 ff.; *JHQ*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff. etc.

¹³ The first of these inscriptions has been published above, Vol. XXX, pp. 21 ff. (No. 1) and the other two in the same volume, pp. 158 ff.

the letters of the last line, which contains only a few aksharas engraved below the concluding part of the previous line, are damaged, while about fourteen letters from the beginning of line 8 appear to have been purposely rubbed off. A few aksharas are also lost at the end of all the lines.

The characters belong to the Gaudīya alphabet, but exhibit, in some cases, the development of early Oriya characteristics; cf. *m* in *śamasta* in line 6, *s* in *śamasta* in line 7, the representation of *p* and *y* by the same sign, etc. The language of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit and Oriya. Thus, while **pādānām* (line 3), *prajānām* (line 5) and *dīpaṃ-śukam* (line 8) are in Sanskrit, *Rājārājadevara* (line 1) and *Uttarāśvadevara* (line 2) have the Oriya sixth case-ending.

The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 1-2 as the Śaka year 1094, corresponding to year 4 of king Rājārājadeva's reign, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4, Monday. The reading of the figure indicating the number of the *tithi* is, however, not beyond doubt as it is considerably damaged. Rājārājadeva mentioned here is Rājārāja II, the third of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who succeeded their father one after the other in the following order: (1) Kāmārjaya, 10 years—Śaka 1069-78-1147-56 A.D.; (2) Rāghava, 15 years—Śaka 1078-92-1156-70 A.D.; (3) Rājārāja II, 25 [śaka] years=21 years, Śaka 1092-1112-1170-90 A.D.; and (4) Anantagabhīma II, 10 [śaka] years=8 years, Śaka 1112-19-1190-97 A.D.¹ The *śaka* reckoning is first used in the case of Rājārāja II in the enumeration of the length of the reign periods of these kings in the official Gaṅga records thus indicating that the popularity of the reckoning began from his rule. But counting of regnal dates in a modified system may have started from the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the *śaka* system is known to have been used in the records of the time of his immediate successors Kāmārjaya and Rāghava.² Since Rājārāja II began to rule in Śaka 1092, Śaka 1094 would be his third regnal year. It has been quoted in the present record as the fourth year of his reign apparently according to the *śaka* reckoning, since the *śaka* year 4 is the same as the actual regnal year 3. If, in 'Śaka 1094, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4', Dhanuḥ is regarded as a solar month, the date seems to be irregular, although the 4th *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrṣa fell on Monday, the 6th November 1172 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *siddhaṃ* symbol followed by the date discussed above. The object of the epigraph, as known from lines 7-8, is to record the installation of a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the god Kṛittivīśa, i.e. Śiva worshipped in the Līṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. It is stated in lines 3-5 to have been installed by Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, described as an ascetic (*tapādhanu*), as a *Saishchārya* and as the *Rājaguru*, for the salvation of *tapādhanu* Śaṅkharī-pāda who was probably a priest of the god Uttarāśvadeva. Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika seems to be called a *śiṣya* of the said Śaṅkharī. Since both of them were ascetics, the word *śiṣya* may have been used to indicate 'a disciple' as in some other cases known to the students of Indian epigraphy.³ The title *Rājaguru* (i.e. the preceptor of the king), applied to Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, seems to suggest that king Rājārāja II did not renounce the Śaiva leanings

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 242-43.

² For the records of Rāghava's time, dated in the *śaka* years, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 153. Some of the regnal dates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, quoted in inscriptions with corresponding Śaka dates, cannot be reconciled with the actual beginning of his reign and, although he is stated to have ruled for seventy years, a few records of his time bear later dates (cf. Ray, *DEHI*, Vol. I, pp. 461-68; Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, offprint, pp. 145 ff.). Inscriptions bearing dates both in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era and belonging to the reign of Kāmārjaya show that the regnal reckoning is really the *śaka* reckoning in most cases (cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73; Subba Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56). Unfortunately in some cases the dates are either wrong or incorrectly read.

³ Cf. Bhattacharya's List, p. 23, note 1.

TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmānava), Śaka 1075



9. Bhuvaneshwar Inscription of Rājārāja II, Śaka 1094, [Anka] Year 4

(from Photographs)

of the family even though his father Anantavarman Chōdagaṇga became a devotee of the god Purnahōttama-Jagamātha (i.e. Viṣṇu) of Puri after having conquered the Puri-Cuttack region.¹

To provide for the perpetual lamp, Bālā-Kāchchhōtika appears to have deposited five māḍhas of gold with a section of the merchants belonging to Āchōpadā-grāma (lines 5-7). The names of some of these people were mentioned in the inscription in line 6; but they are now rubbed off, although it is not possible to say who was responsible for this.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is Āchōpadā-grāma. I am not sure about the location of the village.

TEXT²

- 1 Siddham³ [I*] Śaka[vda]⁴ 1094 Arimad-Rājarājadēvara⁵ pravara(ḍḍha)māna-v[ījjaya-rājjy]⁶.
- 2 samvata⁷ 4 Dhanu⁸-krishṇa [4] Sōma-vārē⁹ s[ri]¹⁰ Uttarōvaradēvara¹¹ [pa]¹².
- 3 rāyuti¹³ tapōdhana-Sā[nāhāri(n)]-pādēnām mōksh-ā[rih]ē.¹⁴
- 4 ta-tapōdhana-Saivāchārya-rājā(ja)guru-Vā(Ra)jā-Kāchchhōtikā.¹⁵
- 5 kēna Āchōpadā-grāmiya-sādhu-prajānām(nām) eka-(t[hā]g[ā])¹⁶.
- 6¹⁷ dī(dī)nā sa[masta].¹⁸

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Sanskrit Śakābaddha.

⁵ Sanskrit dēvaraja.

⁶ The portion of the aksharas in brackets is broken away.

⁷ Sanskrit samvat.

⁸ Sanskrit Dhanu.

⁹ Soma has not been observed here.

¹⁰ Sanskrit śrī.

¹¹ Only a small part of the latter remains, the rest being broken away.

¹² It may be that parāyuti was written to indicate Sanskrit parāhita.

¹³ Only the end of rāyuti remains, the major part of the aksharas being broken away. The aksharas broken away after this may have been ut-re.

¹⁴ The aksharas broken away at the end of the line may be mōksh. The intended reading seems to have been

¹⁵ Kāchchhōtikā-śāradāmaṇḍita. Bālā is derived from Sanskrit śālā or sālaya.

¹⁶ The intended reading seems to be āgāra with a few aksharas broken away after this.

¹⁷ About 14 or 15 aksharas appear to have been purposely rubbed off from this part of the line. This lost section probably contained some personal names.

¹⁸ The word lost here appears to be something like sāra.

7. grhaṇā suvarṇa-pañcha-mā[ḍhā]¹ śrī-Kṛ[tr]vāsa², ...³
 8. ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-paryanta⁴ akhaṇḍa-dī[an]-ekam⁵ dā....⁶
 9.⁷

¹ Sanskrit: *suvarṇaḥ pañca māḍhā* or *suvarṇaḥ pañca māḍhā*.

² Read *Kṛit*.

³ The last akṣaras were apparently *śrīvāsa* or more probably *śrīvāsa*.

⁴ Read *ā-chaṇḍr-ārka* or *chaṇḍr-ārka-paryanta*.

⁵ Read *dīparyantika-śrī*.

⁶ The intended word seems to be *śrī*.

⁷ These four or five damaged akṣaras are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line. The reference here may be to the person who was responsible for engraving the inscription.

No. 16—ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA
635 AND 636

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.7.1960)

The inscription was copied by me in December 1959 at Alampur, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.¹ Alampur is situated on the western bank of the Tungabhadra which flows there northwards to join the Krishna seven miles away. The place is very rich in epigraphical material and I succeeded in tracing about 90 inscriptions representing almost all the important ruling dynasties of Karpāṭak from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. The temples of the place are also of great interest from the architectural point of view.

The inscription edited below has two versions, called here *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Both the versions are engraved on the same slab, *A* being to the left side and *B* to the right. The inscribed slab is fixed into the fort-wall near the steps leading to the river in the place called Dēvadṛṇī. It is rectangular in shape and measures about 5' 10" by 1' 2". A portion of the slab is broken away and lost from the right, so that only about one-third of *B* is preserved while only a few letters in the first three lines of *A* are lost. The writing of *A* covers an area about 5' 3" by 1' 2" while that of the extant portion of *B* measures 1' 3" by 11". The space between *A* and *B* varies from half an inch to one inch. While *A* has 7 lines of writing, *B* consists of 8 lines.

The texts of both the versions are similar, though they are written in different scripts. The characters of *A* are early Telugu-Kannaḍa while those of *B* are what are called Siddhamātrikā or early Nāgarī. This reminds us of the undated Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription² of Kirtivarman II, which is also written in versions in these two scripts. Both the Telugu-Kannaḍa and the Siddhamātrikā characters of the present inscription closely resemble their counterparts of the Paṭṭadakal inscription. While editing the latter record, Fleet has compared the characters of the Nāgarī version with those of the Bōdhgayā inscription³ of Mahānāman and the Sāmangaḍ plates⁴ of Bāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. The characters of *B* and their counterpart in the Paṭṭadakal inscription may also be compared to those of the Pallava king Atiragachanda's epigraph⁵ at Sāluvaṅgupam, which is referred to the 8th century A.D. Fleet referred the Paṭṭadakal inscription to c. 754 A.D. and observed that the use of the Nāgarī characters in that record furnished the earliest instance in Southern India.⁶ Since the inscription under study is dated in 713 A.D., it would carry back the antiquity of the use of early Nāgarī or Siddhamātrikā by 40 years at least.

¹ The record has been registered as Nos. B 136-37 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60. A transcript of this record has recently appeared in *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. II (1960), p. 8. There are some errors in this published transcript.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

³ *OH*, Vol. III, p. 276 and Plate XII.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 110 and Plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 14.

⁶ *Cf. Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 377, note 3.

In respect of orthography, there is nothing special to remark except that, in *B*, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in line 8. The language of both *A* and *B* is Sanskrit, except a sentence in line 7 of *A*, which is written in Kannada. The composition of both the versions is prose, except the invocatory verse at the beginning.

A. Inscription of Śaka 636

This version begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the verse in praise of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu, which is often found in the records of the Bādāmi Chālukyas. Then, after the usual *prastāva* introducing this dynasty in lines 1-3, the record mentions in lines 3-5, six kings of the family, viz., Pulakṣin I; his son Kirtivarman I; his son Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulakṣin II); his son Vikramāditya I; his son Vinayāditya and the latter's son Vijayāditya who was the ruling king. Lines 6-7 state that at the command of Vijayāditya, the teacher Īṣāṇāchārya constructed the enclosure (*prākāra-bandha*). It is not stated for which temple or temples this enclosure was intended. It may, however, be observed that the fort, in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself forms a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navalīṅgavarā, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmāvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure.

The date of the record is given in line 6 as Śaka 636 (expressed in words), 18th regnal year, Vaiśākha śu. 13. Since Śaka 619 current was the first regnal year of the king,¹ Śaka 636 current would be the 18th regnal year as stated in the record. The date cannot be verified as the week-day is not mentioned. But in the year in question, Vaiśākha śu. 13, fell on Friday, the 13th May, 713 A.D.

Line 7 contains a benedictory sentence wishing welfare to the cows, Brāhmaṇas, the king and his subjects. This is followed by another sentence in the Kannada language which states that Īṣāṇāchārya constructed the faultless enclosure (*niravadya-prākāra*). The record ends with the expressions *offittāge* and *śivam-astu*, one being the translation of the other.

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham* [[*] Jayaty=āviṣṭakṛitam Viṣṇor=vvārāham kṣobhātāṅgava[m](vam) [[*]
dakṣiṇ-ṣmṣṭa-damṣṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanāṁ vapuḥ | [[*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-
sāhatāyamāna-Mānavya-.....*
- 2 mātṛp[bi]r=abhiwarddhitanām Kārtikēya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-pāramparāgām bha-
gavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsāditā-Varāha..... *śa-ma[hī]bhṛitām
- 3 Chalukya~~śrī~~ kulam=alaṅkāraśyō(rishyō)r=Aśvamōdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-śaṇa-pavitṛikṛita-
gātmaya śrī-Pulakṣī(śi)-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tanaya[h].
.....¹ mahārājah tasy=ā-

¹ Cf. Bom. Guz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 370, note 5.

* From the impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

* The damaged letters may be restored as: *śyōr-āṅgā Hṛit-patrāṇām śyōr-āṅgā-māyābhāṣyā*.

* The damaged letters may be restored as: *śrīkṣāṇa-śrīkṣāṇa-śrīkṣāṇa-śrīkṣāṇa*.

* This shloka is damaged.

* The damaged letters may be restored as: *Kārtikeya-parirakṣaṇa*.

Left half



Right half



(from Photographs)

- 4 dma(tna)jaḥ Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraś = tasya
priya-tanayaḥ Vikramāditya-bhāttārakaś = tasya = dma(tna)jaḥ Vinayāditya-
[Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārāja-
5 dhīrāja-paramēśvara-bhāttārakaś priya-sūnyaś = samasta-pāramajēvaryya-vābhava-chinnaya
Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Sripriṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
bhāttārakaś
6 sy = ājñayā bhagavad-Īśānāchāryya-śrāmīnā śhaṭtrimśad-uttara-śhaṭ-chhatē Śaka-
varshē pravarddhama(mā)na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarēśv-ashta(śhaṭ)daśē
varttamānē¹ Vaisākha-śukla-trayōdaśyām = iya(m)² prākāra-bandha(h)³
7 kritam = iti⁴ || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇaśvā⁵ rājūḥ prajānūḥ cha śvām bhavatu || — Niravadya-
prākāramān = Īśānāchāryyaś = saimasi⁶ dūc = oḥiti = āye || — Śivam = astu ||⁷

B. Inscription of Saka 635

As stated above, though only about one-third of this inscription is now preserved, a comparison of the extant portion would clearly show that it is a copy of Inscription A written in the Siddhamātrikā script. The chief interest of the record lies in its palaeography which has been discussed above. The inscription is dated Saka 635 instead of Saka 636 as found in A, the details regarding the regnal year being lost. Since Saka 636 of A has been shown to be a current year, Saka 635 of this record may be considered as expired. The purpose of the inscription, as already indicated, is the same as that of A.

TEXT

- 1 Siddham¹ svasti ||² Jayaty-āvinikritam Viśvōr-vvārāham [kaho]³.....
.....
.....
2 Hārīṭ-puttrāpām sapta-śūka-mātrībhīḥ sapta-mātrībhīḥ.....
.....
.....
3 prasāda-samāsāditā-Varāha-lābhān-ā[kaho].....
.....
.....

¹ The subscripts of these damaged letters can be seen in the impression.

² There is an unnecessary anusvara-like mark above sv.

³ Read "m-yaom". The anusvara mark is engraved above the next letter prā.

⁴ Read kṛta śi.

⁵ Read "brāhmaṇāśvā".

⁶ These three letters are damaged.

⁷ From the impressions.

⁸ Expressed by symbol.

⁹ The lost portion in this and in the following lines may be restored with the help of A edited above.

No. 17—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.10.1960)

1. Grant of Jivagupta

Early in the year 1958, I was asked to give my opinion on the date of a copper-plate grant, a set of impressions of which was received by me, for examination and return, from Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division of Bihar, Patna, through the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. In the month of December of the same year, I visited Patna and Mr. Sohoni was kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the inscription. The inscription was secured by Mr. Sohoni from **Katra**, headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Munaffarpur District of North Bihar.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single plate** measuring 10½ inches in height and 6½ inches in breadth. There are altogether 22 lines of writing, 19 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse of the plate. The seal originally affixed to the top margin is now lost. A strip nearly 1½ inches wide was cut off from the lower end of the plate apparently for testing the metal if it was gold. Of this strip, only a small piece (2½ inches long) from the right-hand side is now available while the rest (a little less than 4 inches in length) is lost. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the writing of lines 16-19, only the concluding portion of the lines being available on the small piece referred to above. In the left-hand side of the upper margin on the obverse of the plate, the *akṣara* *ra* is found between two symbols. This letter seems to have been meant for insertion in a line from which it was omitted through oversight. But the omission cannot be satisfactorily located in the extant part of the epigraph.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting. The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the 7th or 8th century A.D. But they are carelessly and cursively formed. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the epigraph is that in some cases the same letters and signs exhibit both earlier and later forms while in some other cases the letters are either early or late. The characters may be compared with those of such East Indian records as the Bōdhgayā inscription (588 A.D.)¹ of Mahānāman, Mideapur plates (c. 619 A.D.)² of Śaśāṅka, Aphaṇḍ inscription (c. 670 A.D.)³ of Ādityaśeṇa, Mangraon inscription (c. 700 A.D.)⁴ of Viśvaguṇḍa, Deo-Barapārk inscription (c. 729 A.D.)⁵ of Jivitagupta II, Nālandā inscription (c. 730 A.D.)⁶ of Yaśovarman and Khallimpur plate (c. 800 A.D.)⁷ of Dharmapāla. Such a comparison would show that the palaeography of our epigraph should have to be referred to a date later than the

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff. and Plate.

² *JRSB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

³ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 341 ff. and Plate.

⁵ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff. and Plate XXIX, B.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff. and Plate.

⁷ *JRSB*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 53 ff. and Plate.

beginning of the 7th century and earlier than the end of the 8th. The letters *y* and *ś* are of the earlier type, the first of which is found in the Aphaed inscription and earlier records while the latter is noticed in a modified form in the Aphaed inscription and later records. But *ś* of the same early type is sometimes found in such East Indian epigraphs of the second half of the 7th century as the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha, dated 554 A.D.¹ The hooked form of *r* and the shape of *s* in the record under study remind us of the forms of the same letters in the Aphaed inscription and later epigraphs. On the other hand, *ḍh* and *k* appear to resemble their forms in the records of the 8th century. In some cases, a curved stroke is attached to the lower left end of *k* (cf. *Harī* in line 7) and this is not usually found in records earlier than the Mangraon inscription of about the beginning of the 8th century. *Y* has a cursive form resembling *ya* of the contemporary North Indian epigraphs. The letter *l* in *kuḍḍi* (line 5) is more cursive than elsewhere in the record. *M* of the record under study is a cursive modification of the form of the letter as found in records like the Mangraon inscription referred to above. But, unlike the Mangraon epigraph, the upward opening of letters like *p* is in some cases closed in our record and this is a sign of lateness. The letter *v* sometimes resembles the closed type of *p* (cf. *prati* in line 8 and *vasi* in line 14). While the medial sign of *i* is generally short as in the earlier records, medial *ā* is written in several forms, one of which exhibits later development and differs little from the sign of medial *ī* (cf. *ś-śara* and *śimā* in line 11). *D* has both the earlier form without the tail and the later one with the tail (cf. *ś-śiddhanta* *ś-śiddhā* in line 12). *B* has been written with the sign for *v*. It will thus be seen that some of the palaeographical features exhibited by the inscription under study suggest a date earlier than the 8th century while others suggest one later than the 7th century. We are therefore inclined to assign it to a date about the first half of the 8th century since it is difficult otherwise to explain the use of the later forms of some of the letters though the earlier forms of some of them may be regarded as having persisted with some people in certain areas of the country.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is only one stanza in *ślokaśloka* in the king's description in the introductory part and two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses occur at the end of the document. The orthography of the inscription resembles that of the contemporary epigraphs of Eastern India. The date of the record is given in line 19 as a day of the bright half of Chaitra in the king's second regnal year.

The charter begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. Reference is first made to the issue of the grant from the donor's camp or capital situated at a locality called *Tārā*. Lines 1-5 then introduce the reigning king *Jivaguptadēva* who was the son of king *Rāmaguptadēva* and queen *Rāmā-bhāṭṭārikā*. Both *Jivagupta* and his father are described as *Paramahāṭṭhvara* (greatly devoted to Mahādeva, i.e. the god Śiva) and are endowed with the imperial title *Paramahāṭṭhvara-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramādeva*. *Rāmagupta*, the father of the reigning monarch, is described as born of queen *Tārā-bhāṭṭārikā* although the name of his father is not mentioned. King *Jivagupta*, donor of the charter, is called *laghu*, i.e. the younger. This probably suggests that his grandfather was another *Jivagupta* who may have been known to the subjects as 'the elder' especially if *Rāmagupta*'s reign was short so that the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson bearing the same name were close to each other. As indicated above, the present record was issued by 'the younger' *Jivagupta* quite early in his reign. We have instances in which a king's grandfather bearing his name was mentioned as 'the elder so-and-so'.²

¹ *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224; *JRSSE*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 372, col. III.

² Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 221-22.

Lines 5-6 contain a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre describing the fame of king Jivagupta, the donor of the charter. Then comes the king's order in respect of the grant which was addressed to a number of his officers and subordinates as well as to the inhabitants of the localities called **Surabhākra**, **Yāmyā** and **Hari-grāmaka** situated in the north-eastern part of **Tisṭhala-pāṭaka** in the **Chāmupā** *viśaya* of **Tira-bhukti**. The royal officers and subordinates mentioned among the addressees are *Mahāśāhivirahika* (minister for war and peace), *Akshapa-talika* (officer in charge of records and accounts), *Sarvādhipāṭika* (chief administrator or minister), *Pratihāra* (officer in charge of the defence of the gate of the royal palace or the capital city), *Sāndyoti* (commander of forces) and *Mahāśamanta* (subordinate rulers). The following passage in lines 10-17, parts of which are lost, apparently states that the three localities in question were granted by the king, after having taken a bath on the occasion of the *Vishuvāt* (i.e. the *Vishuvamākrānti*), in favour of the temple of the goddess *Chāmupā-bhaktārikā* for the merit and fame of his parents. Since the date of the charter falls in the lunar month of *Chaitra*, the *Vishuvāt* apparently refers to the vernal equinox. The localities were granted as a permanent gift together with land and water, with the mango and *mālūka* trees, with pits and barren lands, with the land upto their boundaries, with all their hamlets, with the metal and salt mines, with the *udraṅga* (probably, taxes on temporary tenants), with the space above the ground and with all the dues payable to the king (*rāja-pratyādāya*). In this section, the word *pratyādāya* has been used in the sense of *partyāya* known from many records. A damaged passage in this section seems to state that the temple of the goddess *Chāmupā-bhaktārikā* was in a place (the name of which is uncertain). A lady of the same locality, whose name may have been *Suprahā*, is mentioned in the same context.

The main problem raised by the inscription is the identity of king Jivagupta, his father Rāmugupta and probably also his grandfather whose name may have been Jivagupta, as well as of the dynasty to which the kings belonged. The facts that their dominions included *Tira-bhukti* or North Bihar and that the palaeography of the record suggests a date about the first half of the 8th century A.D. point to the possibility of these rulers having belonged to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Guptas originally ruled in East Malwa and later became rulers of Bihar. The following members of the family are as far known from epigraphic and literary sources: (1) *Krishnagupta*, (2) his son *Harshagupta*, (3) his son *Jivtagupta I*, (4) his son *Kumārāgupta I*, (5) his son *Dāmodaragupta*, (6) his son *Mahāśenagupta*, (7) his son *Kumārāgupta II*, (8) his younger brother *Mādhavagupta*, (9) his son *Ādityasena*, (10) his son *Dēvagupta*, (11) his son *Vishnugupta* and (12) his son *Jivtagupta II*.¹ Of these, *Kumārāgupta I* came into conflict with *Maṅkharī Bhanavarman*, one of whose known dates is *Vikrama* 611 (533-34 A.D.)² while *Dāmodaragupta* was killed in a battle apparently with the same *Maṅkharī* king.³ *Mahāśenagupta* claims to have fought with the *Kāmarūpa* king *Suśhītavarman*, father of *Bhāskaravarman* (c. 600-50 A.D.).⁴ *Bāṇa's Harsha-charita* mentions *Kumārāgupta II* and *Mādhavagupta* as the two sons of the king of *Mālava* (*Mālava-rāja-putra*) who are stated to have taken shelter at the court of the *Thamśar* king *Prabhākaravardhana*, the father of *Harshavardhana* (606-47 A.D.).⁵ That *Bāṇa's Mālava* is East Malwa is quite clear from his *Kādambarī* which associates the river *Vetravati* and the capital city of *Vidishā* with *Mālava* and places *Ujjayinī* in the land of *Avanti*

¹ See *Bhandarkar's List*, pp. 290-91.

² Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.

³ Cf. *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 293. verse 11; *JRASH*, Letters, Vol. XI, p. 70, note 4.

⁴ See *CHI*, op. cit., verse 14; *JRASH*, op. cit., p. 71, note 2.

⁵ *Varat's ed.*, pp. 138 ff.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the name of Tira-bhukti is preserved in that of the modern Tirhut Division of North Bihar. I am not sure about the location of the district of Chāmupā-vishaya, the subdivision of Tishāhala, the gift villages called Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Hari-grāmaka and the locality called Tārā whence the charter was issued. It is possible that the name Chāmupā-vishaya was derived from the temple of the goddess Chāmupā mentioned in the record.

TEXT

Ofertum

- 1 Siddham¹ svasti []* [T]ārā²-vāṣṭa-āri-jayaskandh[ā]vārāt-paramamāhāśvarataya śrīmat-Tā-
[rā]-
- 2 bhāṭṭārikāyām-utpānnāya paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 3 ramāśvara-śrī-Rāmaguptadēvasya puttrāḥ paramamāhāśvarāḥ śrī-Rāmā-līha-
- 4 ṭṭārikāyām-utpānnāḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-āri-
- 5 Jivaguptadēvā laghuḥ kuśāṭ [] Ya[d]-yāś viśalānvikāya śvalamavaput³=o[ya]⁴[m⁵]
- 6 ā⁶ā []* satūpūrpam śanākair-iddhātā lajya[]ja-y-āc-ārgjuna(nō) vī[]n⁷ []*⁸ Tira-bhuktāu
[Ch]āmupā[ā]-
- 7 vishayē pūrvvōttara-Tish[ā]hala-pājakā Surabhākrē Yāmyāyām Hari-grāmakā
[cha⁹]
- 8 mahāśāndhivigrahak-ācchapatali[ka]-sarvādhikārika-pratīha(hā)ra-
- 9 sēnāpati-mahā[s]āmantā-praharitā-miśasinaś-cha janapādānvō(m-bō)dhaya-
- 10 ti samājñāpayati [cha]* vāṣṭam-astu-bhavatām yathāśpari-ś[ā]h[ā]grām[ā]h[ā]¹⁰
- 11 sa-jala-sthala(lāḥ) s-āmra-madhūka(kāḥ) s-gartiva(rit-ō)khara(rāḥ) sva-dmī-paryanta-
(nālāḥ) sa-
- 12 sa[sa]n(rva)-pallika(kālī) sa-lōha-lavag-ākara(rāḥ) s-ōdhraga(āyāḥ) s-ōddōsa(kāḥ) samśata-
[rā]-
- 13 ja-pratyādāya-samētā [yāva¹¹]d-ā-chandr-ōrka-ksh[ā]ti-sarva-kālam-samābh[ā]ḥ [nā-
- 14 tvā Visha[shu]vati pitrōḥ puṇya-yasā-vividdhayē Chāmupā-bhaṭṭārikā-
- 15¹²pratiśthāpitakōttara prativā[ś]nyāś-Sap[ā]h[ā]
- 16¹³pō[ā]-sa[ā]h[ā]sk[ā]r-ārttha

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ The reading of the name does not appear to be Nārā.⁴ Read viśalānvikāya śvalamavaput³.⁵ The āśhara ya is written below the line.⁶ There is an unnecessary mark above ā.⁷ The intended reading seems to be vāṣṭā.⁸ The metre of the stanza is dāśak[ā].⁹ There are traces of some āśhara here. But their reading is doubtful.¹⁰ There are traces of a few āśhara here at the beginning of the extant part of the plate. But their reading is doubtful, though they may be [kha]jā-sphāṭita.¹¹ The āśhara ā is written below the line.

- 17 sanstveṇa¹ pradatta(tā) rti |
 18 kaibhīcha pratyādāyā²
 19 ādīsa³ ||*] sam 2 Chakara-[su]dī ..

Notes

- 20 Va(Ba)hubhīr=vasundhā [bhaktā] rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīr-ya[śa]⁴ yaśya yadā bhūmī-
 tāśya ta-
 21 sya tadā⁵ phalam(lam) ||*] Sva-dattā[m]-para-dattām⁶ yā harāta vasundharām(rām) ||
 aa viśbhāyām
 22 [kr]mīr-bhūta⁷ pūjibhīḥ-saha paśyātā ||*]

2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

The two copper-plate grants published in the following pages are lying in the possession of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and were copied by me in August 1960. They were secured by Mr. Sohoni from some locality under the Bagaha Police Station in the Champaran District of North Bihar.

Both the charters were issued by a king named Sauryāditya who enjoyed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāvipūṣhīrīya Paramēśvara* and the introductory stanzas, eleven in number, are common to both. The king was the son of Hamsarāja and the grandson of Hālāvarāha and belonged to a branch of the solar race (*Suryāvanshi*), of which the progenitor was a royal hero named Malayakṣetu. Both the grants are dated, the first in Vikrama 1077 (1020 A.D.) and the second in Vikrama 1083 (1026 A.D.).

King Sauryāditya and his father and grandfather are known for the first time from the inscriptions under study. But there is no doubt that these rulers were later members of the Malayakṣetu family known from the Gurnah (Gorakhpur District) and Gorakhpur plates,⁸ both issued from Vijayapura (the first of the two grants in Vikrama 937=879 A.D.) by P.M.P. Jayāditya II, the son of P.M.P. Dharmāditya and queen Chandrā and the grandson of P.M.P. Jayāditya I and queen Yōgi. It appears that the rulers of the Malayakṣetu family were ruling over the north-eastern Districts of Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of North Bihar. They may have attained imperial status after the fall of Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj and appear to have been subdued by the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj about the close of the ninth century, either under king Bhōja I (c. 836-55 A.D.) or under his son Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.). The present records of 1020 and 1026 A.D. appear to show that the Malayakṣetu kings remained subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras for more than a century and again raised their head on the decline of Gurjara-Pratihāra power about the beginning of the eleventh century. This is an interesting example of the survival of an imperial family and its emergence after a long period of obscurity.

¹ The intended expression is no doubt tāra-tāmasatana.

² The intended expression seems to be kaibhīcha pratyādāyā samapantayāh.

³ The intended expression seems to have been va-sam-ādīsa.

⁴ Read 'ādīsa | yaśa'.

⁵ This stanza is written below the line.

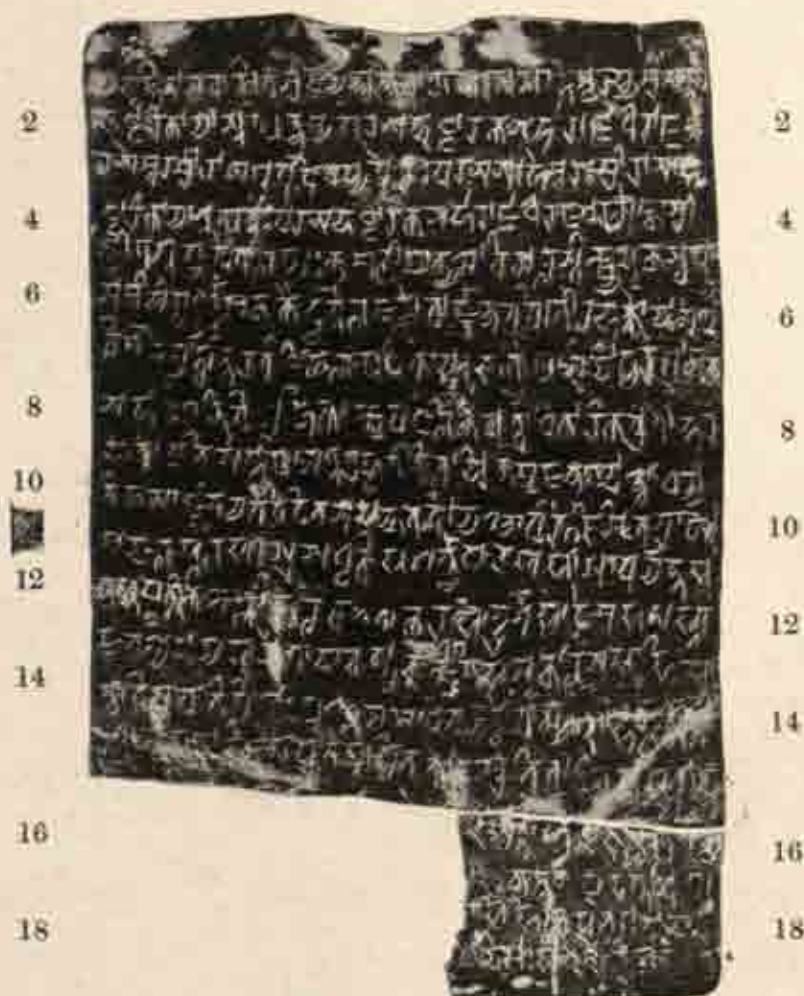
⁶ The metre of this and the following stanza is ānandak.

⁷ Read dattāśa.

⁸ Cf. Bhattacharya's List, Nos. 34, 1794.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

1. Grant of Jivagupta



20

22

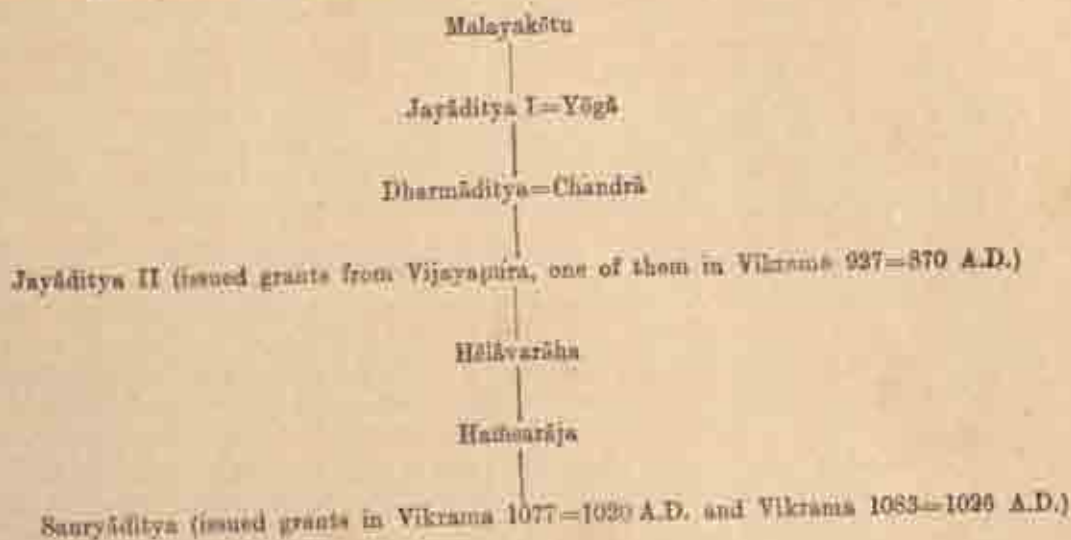


20

22

Size : One-half

With the help of the Guzmā and Gorakhpur plates referred to above and of the records now under study, the genealogy of the Malayakṣtu family of the solar race may be tabulated as follows :



A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

This is a single plate measuring 15½ inches in breadth and 15½ inches in height with a projection at the top (about 3½ inches broad and 1 inches high) having its top part rounded. The projection was meant for fixing the seal by means of two knobs, parts of which are still sticking in the two holes in the projection, which were made for receiving the knobs.

There are altogether 31 lines of writing engraved on the first side of the plate, the second side containing only two lines. The engraving is neat; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in certain sections.

The characters are early Nāgarī of about the eleventh century. Among palaeographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the use of both the Bengali and Nāgarī types of *anuvāda* and the undistinguishable representation of *cā*, *y* and *n* in some cases (cf., e.g., *chandrā* in line 31 and *yāt* in line 32). The consonant *n* has been written in two ways (cf. *n* in *chandrā-anuvāda* in line 11 with the same letter in *vyjanā* in line 8 and *dharmāditya* in line 15). The form of final *n* (e.g. in *gatā* in line 17 and *purnā* in line 29) is interesting. For final *r*, see *gat*, in line 25, and for the *anuvāda* sign, cf. line 24. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The orthography is characterised by wrong spellings exhibiting the influence of local pronunciation. Cf. *candā* (line 2) for *chandrā*; *haras* (line 6) for *harṣa*; *jainā* (line 13) for *jayinā*; *khaṇḍā* (line 15) for *khaṇḍit*; *jau-majjanā* (line 15) for *jau-majjantī*; *śūnāpati* (line 18) for *śūnāpati*; *śādhyā* (line 18) for *śādhyā*; *śimā* (line 20) for *śimā*; *śhātra* (line 22) for *śhātra*; *jadā* (line 26) for *yadā*; *yādā* (line 29) for *yādā*; *sahāsrāyā* (line 27) or *sahāsrāyā* (lines 29-30) for *sahāsrāyā*; *haras* for *harṣa* (line 29); *śatā* (line 30) for *śatā*; etc. It will be seen that some of these characteristics are now more marked in the East Indian pronunciation. Reduplication of consonants after *r* is noticed in some cases; but we have generally *rt* and *ry* without reduplication.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 25 as *Sarhvat 1077, Chaitra-śudi 14, Friday*, while line 22 states that it was made on the *Mahāchaitrī tithi* in the month of Chaitra, i.e., Chaitra pūrṇimā. It would appear therefore that the record was kept ready on Chaitra-śudi 14; but the

joining the Bāghmati in lat. 25° 45' and long. 86° 2'. The district of Daradgaṇḍakī is also mentioned in an inscription (Vikrama 1167) of king Kirtipāla of Saumyasindhu or Uttarasaṃudra.¹

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1-2, 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 3-7, 9-11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 12-19, 21 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 20 *Pushpīgītā*.]

Obverses

- 1 Siddham* ॐ svasti | **Sāry-ānvayē** prakata-vikrama-bhūmir-āstī(sīd) bhūpāla-maulī(h)ri-īha
bhūpatir-ādibhūtaḥ | lī-ālayō **Malaya[kṣ]tur**-atulya-dhāmā [² sarv-ādibhūt-aika-vasati-
[r-īja]-
- 2 gatī prasiddhaḥ || [³] Tad-vansa(vandha)jāḥ krama-paramparayā pratāpī bhūpō va(ba)bhūva
bh[uvī dāna-jala]-pravāhaḥ || [⁴] **Hālavarāḥ** iha sāsana-vāsa-bhūmir-yat-kīrtitayā-
tri-bhū(bhu)vanāni
- 3 pavitrāyanti || [⁵] Dhairyaṃ kārya-vidhāsa yasya vilasata(sat)-saundaryam-ā(nīdriśān) gām-
bhīryaḥ* naya-vartina⁶-guptishu girām-audāryam-āry-śchītaḥ(tam) | tyāgō yaaya cha
mārggaṇḍahu vi-
- 4 nayō vidvatsu kīrtitirdōri(r-ddi)śām [⁷ yasy-āyāḥ charitārthatām-upagataḥ sarvō guṇānā-
gaṇaḥ || [⁸] **Hāl-nirjita-vairi-kūjate-ghataḥ** sau(sau)jīrya-va(ba)dīh-ādaraḥ śhādguṇy-
ōdadhi-
- 5 vu(bu)ddhi-mamthana-bhava-āri-ratna-laydhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ || [⁹] kīḍā-nirbhara-bhavya-
vāraramaṇī-līlā-vīlā-ālayō bhūpāḥ kīl-cha vicintya yasya chantaḥ rājyē-pi¹⁰ lajjanty-
amī || [¹¹] Bhūtō bhū-
- 6 mibhu[jāḥ] vibhūshaya-maṇiḥ putrō dhairitripaṭiḥ [¹² tasy-ōddagḍa-bhuja-pratāpa-taraṇiḥ
āri-**Hansa(Hansa)rājāḥ** khitau || (i) dhāmā jō(yē)ma dhritam sad-ōditam-īha sphāratu
punar-mma-
- 7 ṇḍalam [¹³ yasy-āḷōka-vidhī-śchakāra sajan-āmbhōjō vikāsa-śriyāḥ(yam) || (i) [¹⁴] Nīty-
ānanda-kṛit-ōtsavaḥ] [¹⁵] pratidinam¹⁶ prauḍha-pratāyō(p-ō)ditāḥ sad-vaidagdhya-vadhā-
patirvu(r-tu)dhā-ja-
- 8 na-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshthī-rataḥ || [¹⁷] kāryō(vy-ā)mbhōja-rea-ōpalam(la)mbha-madhupō gam-
bhīrim-āmbhōnidhiḥ || [¹⁸ r-yasy-āyāḥ viṇ(vi)rataḥ kal-ānukaraḥ kshī-ōpasaktir-jjanāḥ ||
[¹⁹] Tishthantaami²⁰ nī]vī-
- 9 [tya] sarvva-jagatō dōsha-spiśā-sath(śam)kayā pūḍibhūya sad-aiva viśmaya-bhaya-trāṇāya
yamin guṇāḥ || (i) yasy-āśīta(sī) paraman-tu²¹ dūshaya-kaṇaḥ sarvvasya nī(śh)kāraṇaḥ

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 93. It is possible that Kirtipāla's family owned the Malayakōṭas about the close of the 11th century to be themselves ousted by the Gāhajavālas shortly afterwards.

* From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The danda is superfluous.

⁴ These akṣaras are restored with the help of the other inscription.

⁵ B has mantra.

⁶ B has rājyōḥ.

⁷ The danda is superfluous. Read yam-dāya.

⁸ B has a different reading.

⁹ The danda is unnecessary. Read nīdriḥ.

¹⁰ Read tishthanti sma as in B.

¹¹ We may have it as paraman-tu²¹, but B has paraman-tu.

9 DGA/69

- 10 *survvasya evam¹-ajjharat-kila yasō(sō) digjō(g-yō)shitar varabhaṣṭ² || [7*] Sandhāni nish-
phuratayā kumudāni gaudhāḍ=dugdham raeṣa madhura-dhvanibhīḥ-cha kausāḥ(harṣāḥ) ||
[jñā]tāḥ katham(tha)ñchid=[i]ha*
- 11 *yasya yabasya³-samudra-samplāvitā jagati ātaruchi(r*)=mrigāśakā || [8*] Sunnuḥ tasya⁴
narēndra ṣha vijayī chandr-ānanō bhūtalā dharmmaḥ samprati yasya kirtti-*
- 12 *latikā vra(bra)hmāṇḍam-ārōhati | yē=ākāṇḍam-akhaṇḍa-dhairya-gurupā lavdhā(bdh-ā)-
bhīṣhoka-kriyā-mātrō-aiva cha vikramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āgaṇḍ vairipāḥ || [9*] Tyā-*
- 13 *gān-āsa(sya) na varṇanā vijayatō Karṇasya rūpa-āriyā n-ānāgasya na sāgarāṣṇa
jai(jayi)naḥ ||⁵ san(ānu)ryēṇa singhī-patēḥ⁶ ||⁷ gāmbhī(mbhī)ryēṇa na sāgarasya vidu-
shām gōṣṭhāḥ*
- 14 *Vāchaspatēḥ ||⁸ līlābhīr-ama Puraṇḍara*)sya nripatēḥ kō=nyāḥ prakarsa-kramaḥ || [10*]
Yuddhō Kuñjaravarṣa ṣha kim-iti śruty-aiva nāma dvībhō magnāḥ kēchana pāda-pa-*
- 15 *ākaḥ-tala-chohḥāyā-nishannāḥ(nyāḥ) kha(ksha)ṇāt | n-āita(ch*)=chitram-idan-to yasya
charitat mistrīmna⁹-dhārā-jalā ja(ya)n-majjanti kiyaty-āpi kshītipatēr-matta-dvīpānācī
ghatjāḥ(tāḥ) ||¹⁰ || [11*]*
- 16 *sa paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhīrāja-paramēvara-śrīmat-Sauryādityadēvaḥ kuśali ||
Daradgaṇḍaki-maṇḍalē Vyāhīḥ-vishay-āntashpātī¹¹-Vadāpālī-*
- 17 *grāmā samupagatān abhava-ra(rā)japurushān mahārājā-rāpakā-ṭhaka(kka)*-āmātrō(tya)-parō-
hita- ||¹² mahāmahattaka-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahā-*
- 18 *pratihāra-mahā-akha¹³-patalika- | mahāsādhhanika- | mahāpālūpati- | mahāśō(sō)nāpati- |
mahākatakāḍha(dhya)kha-dushāśā(sā)dhyasādhhanika- | dā(dā)ṇḍika- | dāṇḍapālā(sī)-
ka- |*
- 19 *anu(ānu)llika- | gaulmika- | gamāgamika- | dūtesamprēhanika- | talavargika-¹⁴ | āgara-
kshika- | chāṭṭa-bhaṭṭa¹⁵-prabhritā yathā-athā[na]-niyuktā(n*) rāja-pād-āpajīvi- |*
- 20 *na(nō) rājapurushān yathārham mānayati vō(bō)dhayati ādīkati | viditam=astu bhavatām |
yathā grāmō-yath sa-jala-athalāḥ a-āmva(mra)-madhu(dhū)khaḥ sva-ā[śā]mā-*

¹ Read *śrī-sarvasam* as in B.

² Read *vallabham*.

³ Read *yakṣ*.

⁴ Read *Sūnucarya*.

⁵ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁶ Read *simhī*. Possibly the word *śāhīpati* (literally, 'the husband of the lioness') has been used to indicate 'a lion'. The 'husband of Simhī (Simhikā)' may also be understood in the case of Śiva among others.

⁷ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read **patē-dhā*.

⁸ Read *nītrīmā*.

⁹ Read **āntashpātī*. The *ā* in *āntashpātī* really stands for the *upādāntapā*.

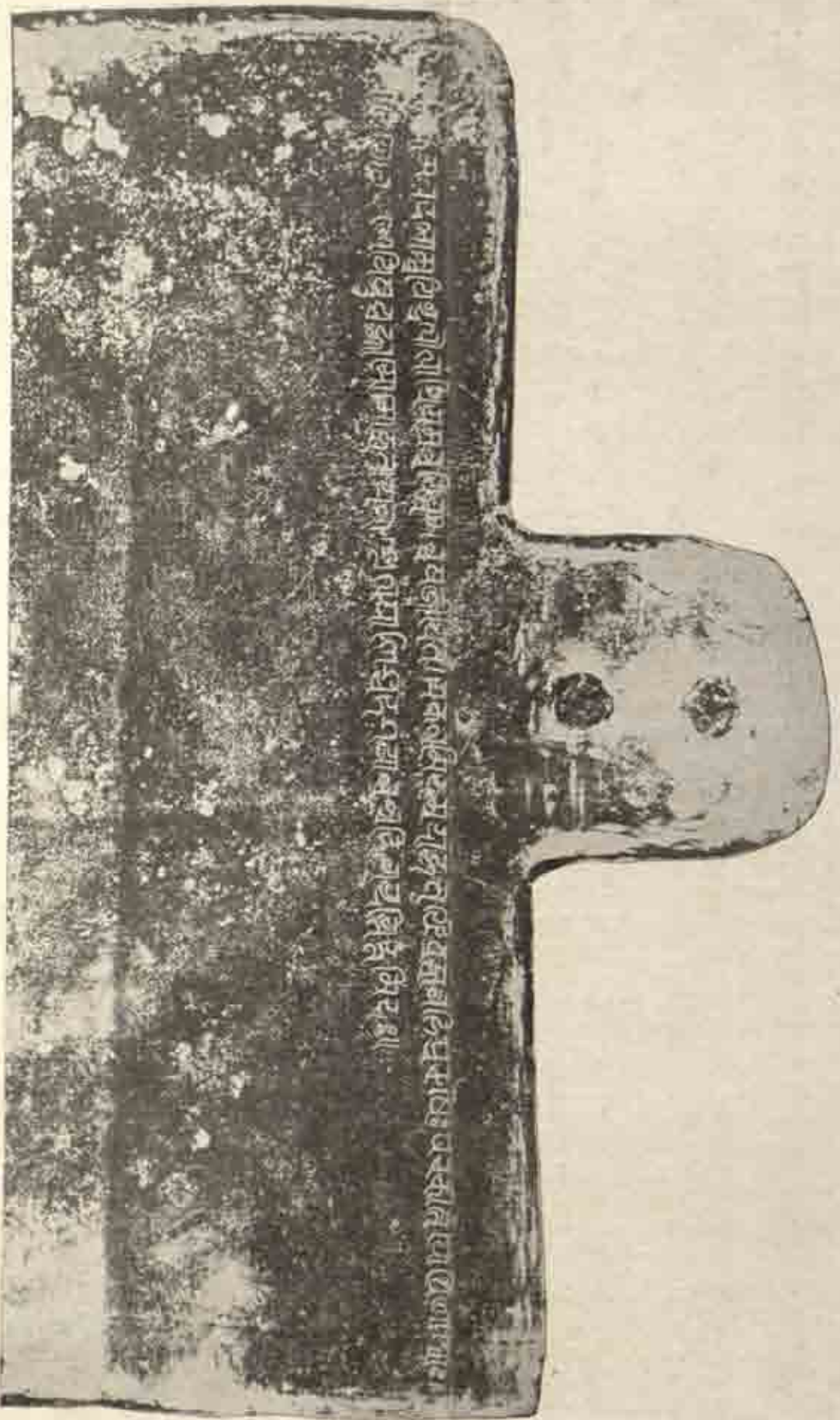
¹⁰ The *daṇḍa* here and elsewhere below in this line and the following lines is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *mahāśāka*.

¹² *śaṭṭī* has not been observed here.

¹³ This is the same as *chāṭṭa-dhātā* of earlier inscriptions.

[illegible]



(from Photographs)

- 21 paryantaḥ phala-ratikō ramya[ḥ*] e-śhara[ḥ*] sa-gorti-āvaskara[ḥ*] jana-dhana-sahitaḥ
sa-pallikāḥ su-kṛishṭa[ḥ*] mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-cha pū(pu)ṇya-ya[śō*]-bhivṛiddhaye |
chandrā-
- 22 rkka-kshiti-kālam yāvat | pūrvva-bhū(bhu)jyamāna-dēva-vrā(brā)hmana-khō(kshō)tra-
khaṇḍalakam va[rja*]yitvā | Chaitrē māsi Mahāchaitryām vidhivata(vat) snātva
bhagavantau Bhāskar-Ēśānā-
- 23 v-abhyarchcha(rehya) tila-darvabhō(rbhō-ō)duka-pavitra-pāpinā Chehhāla-vinirggata-¹ Usīya-
grāmiya-Sāvarṇa(rṇya)-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-² Āpnavāna-³ Aurvva-Ya(Ja)-
madagni śtā⁴ pañcha-
- 24 pravarāya Bhaṭṭa-śr[ī] Yaśodityāya⁵ Bhaṭṭa-Vāṭṭhō-sutāya Bhaṭṭa-⁶ Adavi-naptre tā-
mraśāsaukṛitya sampradattō=⁷ amābhiḥ | bhavadbhir-anumantavyath nivāsibhiś-cha ā-
- 25 jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yat kiñchid-rāja-pratyāy-ādikaṁ tad-asy-ōpanṣṭavyam(vyam) |
Samva(Samva)t 1077 Chaitra-śudi 14 Śukra-dinō ōvam(va)m-anāna vidhinā
grāma[m]
- 26 datvā(ttvā) rāj-ēdam-abhidhattē ||⁸ || Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasundhā(dhā) dattā rājābhi[ḥ*] Sagar-
ādibhiḥ ||⁹ || yasya yasya ja(ya)dā bhūmi[ś*]-tasya tad(ta)sya tadā phala[m*] || [12*]
Bhūmtyaḥ¹⁰ prastigrihṇā(hṇā)āti yaś-cha bhū-
- 27 mi[m*] prayachchhati (| u)bhau tau pū(pu)ṇya-karmmaṇan niyataḥ svargga-gāminau || [13*]
Shash(hi)chēti-varecha-sakāśrā(śrā)ṇi mōdatē divi bhūmi[daḥ] ||¹¹ || āchchhētā ch-anumantā
cha tāny-ōva narakam
- 28 [vra]t || [14*] Sam[Śam]kham bhadrāsanam chehha(chha)tram var-āśvō vara-kūṣjara-
(raḥ) | bhūmi-dānasya chihṇāni phalam-ēttata Pranandara¹² || [15*] Sva-datām(ttām)
para-dat[ā]mvā¹³ yō hara(rō)ta vasundharām(rām) || sa vi-
- 29 shthāyām kṛimir-bhu(bhū)tvā pīṭribhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatō || [16*] Gām-ēkām suvarṇnam-
ēkam bhūmēr-apy-ēkam-aṅgulam(lam) || harat(ran) narakam-āyāti jā(yā)vad-āhūta-
sathplavath(vam) || [17*] Tatpā(tā)kāni saha-
- 30 śrā(śrā)ṇi¹⁴ sāmamēdha-sa(śa)tāni cha ||¹⁵ || gavām kōṭi-pradānēna Bhūmi-harttā na śuddha-
(dhya)ti || [18*] Phalatkiṣṭā¹⁶ mahim datvā(ttvā) sa-vi(bi)ja(jām) sasya-mālini[m] ||¹⁷ ||
yāvat-sūrya-kṛiṭō(t-ā)lōkai¹⁸ tāva-
- 31¹⁹ t-svarggō mahiyatō || [19*]

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² Read "daga-m".

³ The form of this personal name is not grammatically correct.

⁴ There is a symbol of two concentric circles between the double dashes.

⁵ Read Bāṇasīya yā.

⁶ Read "Nai Pranandara".

⁷ Read datām vā.

⁸ Read Phala-kṛishṭam.

⁹ This small line begins after leaving the space for about four akṣaras.

Reversæ

32. Iti kamala-dal-āmru(mba)-vindu-lōlām śriyam-annchinta(nya) manusha(sha)-jīvitam
[cha*] | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitaṁ-cha vu(bu)dihā(dāhvā) na hi puruṣaḥ para-kṛtayaō
vilōpyā || [20*]
33. [Ā]dityō Varuṇō Viṣṇu Vrahmā¹ Sōmō Kūtāsa(ṣa)nā(naḥ) | Śūlapāṇis-cha bhagavān-auva-
bhi² nandanti bhūmidah(ḥam) || [21*]

B. Grant of Vikrama 1083

This single plate measures about 15½ inches in breadth and 14½ inches in height. There is a projection at the top, about 2½ inches high and 5½ inches broad. The upper part of the projection and the four corners of the plate are rounded. The figure of the Bear incarnation of Viṣṇu, engraved on the projection, was meant to serve the purpose of the proper seal. The figure is of a bear-faced human form, having a crown and other ornaments and standing to right in the *pratyālīḍha* pose with the left elbow raised upwards.

There are 31 lines of writing in all on one side of the plate. In regard to **palaeography, language and orthography**, this inscription closely resembles *A* edited above. But lines 1-21 are more efficiently engraved than lines 22-31, the first part containing fewer orthographical errors than the latter part. Of the 11 stanzas of the introductory section, verses 3-11 have their respective numbers engraved after each of them. The ten imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end of the inscription are, however, not similarly numbered. The date of the record is quoted in lines 23-24 as **Sarīvat 1083, Chaitra-śudi 13, Saturday**. If the year is regarded as current (Kārtikāśdi), the date would correspond to the **2nd April 1028 A. D.**

The beginning of the inscription is similar to that of *A*. The 11 stanzas, occupying lines 1-11, have already been discussed in connection with *A* (lines 1-15). The following section in prose referring to the donor is also the same as in *A*; but the list of subordinates addressed by the king and that of the donee's privileges, though similar to those in the other record, are not exactly the same and the gift land in the present case is **Yamaṇiūṇḍa-grāma** situated in **Dvichatvārimśatikā-vishaya** of **Dardachapdikā-maṇḍala**. The name of the *vishaya* is merely a Sanskritized form of that of the Vyāliṣi sub-district known from *A*; but, as already indicated above, the two do not appear to be identical since they were situated in different *maṇḍalas* or districts. Like the list of subordinates and the donee's privileges, other details in lines 17-22 are similar to those in *A*. But the donee's name is left out, though his *pravaras* are enumerated as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpaurāṇa, Jamadagni and Aurva without mentioning the name of the *gṛha* which was apparently Sāvārṇya as in the case of the donee of *A* edited above. A few other details found in *A* are also similarly left out in this inscription. In this section, we have *paṭṭolī-tūmrāḍānāṇikṛitya* instead of *ṛāṭṭānāṇikṛitya* in *A* and other records. As we have suggested elsewhere,³ the word *paṭṭolī* means 'a deed of purchase'. The nature of the present record thus seems to have been different from that of *A*.

But the most important feature of the record under study is the absence of the donee's name. It is of course tempting to suggest that this was due to a mistake of the scribe or engraver.

¹ Read *śrīṣṭ-Brāhmā.

² Read *śrī-mahā*.

³ Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, p. 205. Cf. Tamil *paṭṭolā* in the same sense.

It is, however, interesting to note that there is the following endorsement at the end of the record in the last line (line 31): *etach-ahāsanam-uddēsa-mātram-iti*, "This grant is merely an illustration." This suggests that the present plate was not actually issued in favour of a donee, but was merely kept in the record office of the king as a sample draft for being consulted by the scribes to prepare similar other documents. The mention of the *pracaras* seems, however, to indicate that the original intention was to issue it in favour of a donee belonging to the Sāvanya *gōtra*, though it was discarded owing to mistakes creeping in the text.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are: (1) Yamagūṇḍa-grāma, (2) Dvichatvāriṃsatikā-vishaya, and (3) Dardachandikā-maṇḍala. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT¹

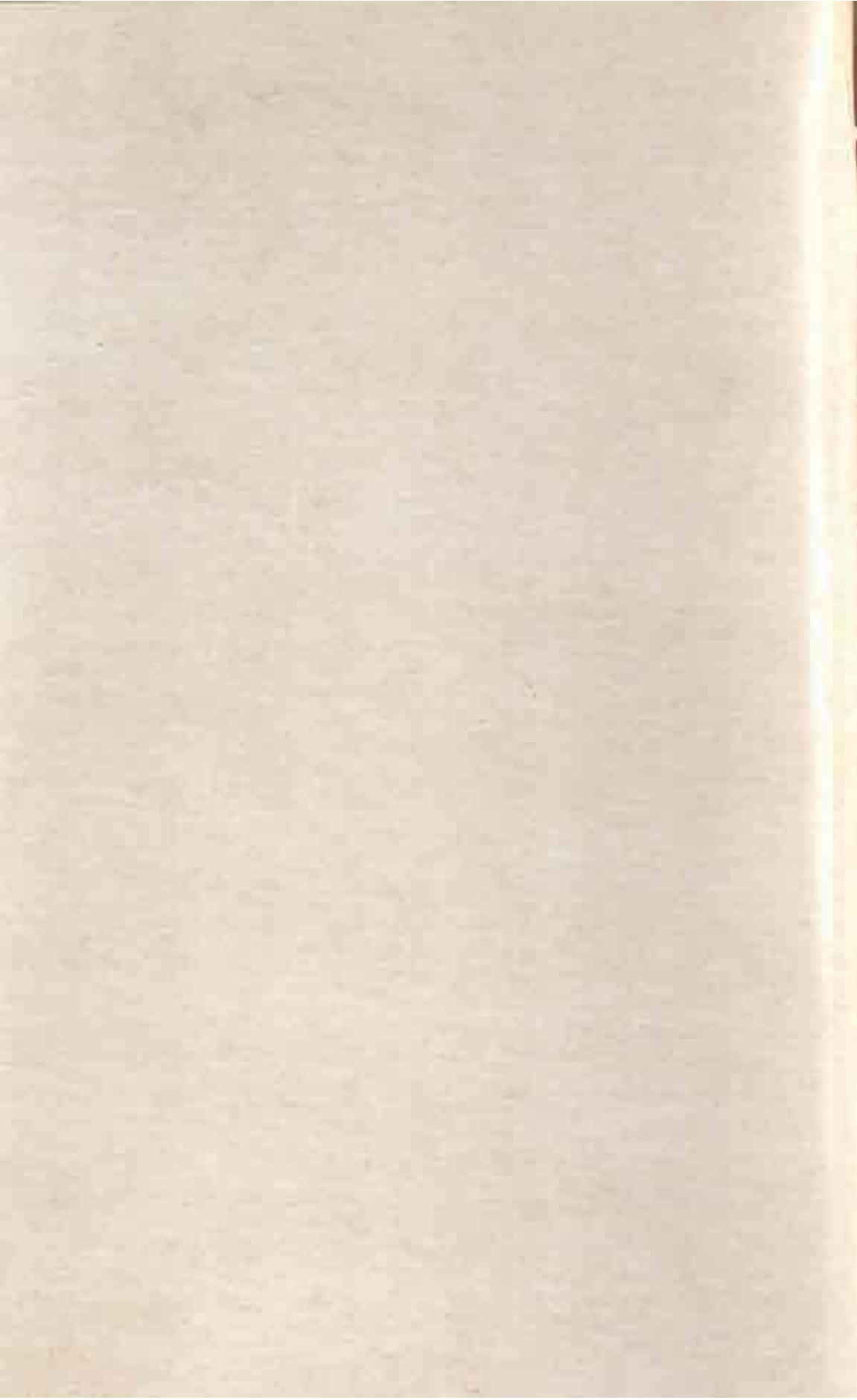
- 1 Siddham² ā namāḥ(mah) ||[*] **Sūrya-śivayā** prakāṣa-vikrama-bhūmīr-āśi(ā)d-bhūpāla-mauli
(ā)r-īha bhūpatir-ādibhūtaḥ | III-ālayō Maḥa³ **Yakṣtur**-atulya-dhāmā sarva-ādibhūta-
vasatir-jagati prasiddhiḥ(ddhiḥ) || [1*] Tad-vansa(vanśa)jāḥ-kra-
- 2 ma-paramparayā pratāpō(pā) bhūpō vāhh(u)vi⁴ dāna-jala-pravāhaḥ | **Holāvarāha** iha sāha-
vāsa-bhūmīr-yat-kīrttaya-tribhuvānāni pavitrāyanti || [2*] Dhairyaḥ kārya-vidhāu
[yasya*] vilasatsau(t-sau)nda-
- 3 ryanvi(m-ā)piḍḍisām(sām) gambhīrya-naya-mantra⁵ gupṭishu girām-audāryam-āry-śchitam-
(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggaṇḍeshu viṇayō vidvatsu kīrttir-ddisām(sām) yasy-āyām
charitārthātām-upagataḥ sarvaḥ guṇā-
- 4 nā[m] gaṇaḥ || 3 || Hāḥ-nirjita-vairi-kuṇḍara-ghaṭaḥ sau(ān)ḥ[rya-va(ha)ddh-ādarah] |
śhūḍguny-ōdadhi-vu(bu)ddhi-manthana-bhava-śri-ṣatna-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ | kīḍā-
nirbhara-bhavya-vānarama-
- 5 pi-līlā-vilāś-ālayō bhūpāḥ kīṣ-cha vichintya yasya charitām rājyēshu lajjanty-aml || 4 || Bhūto
bhūmi-bhujāmvi(jām vi)bhūṣhaṇa-maṇiḥ putrō dharitripatis-tasy-ōddagḍa-bhūja-pratā-
- 6 pa-taraṇi śri-**Hansa(Harisa)rājāḥ** kshītau ||(i) nāmnā⁶ yēna dhṛitam sad-ōditam-īha
syā(aphā)rah punā(na)r-maṇḍalān yasy-āj[ōka-vidhāś-cha]ṣṭra sajan-āmbhōjō vikāśa-
śriyām(yam) || 5 || Nity-āna-
- 7 nda-kṛit-ōtsava-rata⁷ praudha-pratāp-ōditāḥ sad-vaidagdhya-vadhū-patirvva(r-bbu)dhā-
jana-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshthi-rataḥ | kāvy-āmbhōja-raś-ōpalambha-madhupō gambhīra-
(ri)m-āmbōnidhir-yasy-āya-
- 8 mvi(m vi)rataḥ-kal-ānkarapō kshīḥ-ōpasski⁸ janāḥ || 6 || Tishṭhanti sma nivvi(vi)tya
sarva-jagatō dōsha-sprisā(śā)-sa(śam)kāyā piḍḍibhūya sad-aiva viśmaya-bhuvae-triṇāya
yāmi-

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ Read *babūṣa* *ānā*.⁴ *A* reads *urta*.⁵ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.⁶ Read *dhāmnā* as in *A*.⁷ *A* has **rak. pralīnān*. The intended reading in *B* may be **sarvō-secarātā*.⁸ Read **kshīṣ*.

- 9 n-guṇāḥ | yasy-ist-param-atra¹ dūṣaṇa-kaṇaḥ sarvasya niṣkārāṇaṁ hṛit-sarvasa-
(sa)ṁ-ajharat-kila yasō(śō) dig-yōchitāmva(m va)ḥabham(bham) || 7 || Soudhāni niṣṭha-
(ṣṭha)ratayā
- 10 kumudāni gandhāt(ndhād) dugdham rasēna madhura-dhvanibhiḥ-cha hanaḥ(haṣṭh) |
j[ā]tāḥ kathamchid-iba yasya yasaḥ(ṣaḥ)-samudra-sa[m]p[ā]ṇitō jagati śitarachir-
mṛigāṅgāt(āṅgāt) || 8 || Sūnu-ta-
- 11 sya narēnira(ndra) ṣha vijayī chantrā(ndr-ā)napā(nō) bh[ā]ṭa*]lā dha[r*]mmah samprati
yasya kirtti-latikā vrapthā(brahmā)ṇḍam-ārō[ha*]ti | yān-ākāṇḍam-akhaṇḍa-dhairya-
guruṇā lavdhā(bdh-ā)bhishēka-kriyā-
- 12 mātṛēy-aiva cha vikramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaṣṭh vairiṇaḥ || 9 || Tyāgēn-āya na varṇaṇā
vijayatā Karpasaya rūpa-ēriyā n-ānaṅgaaya na saṁgarēṣhu ja-
- 13 yinaḥ sau(śau)ryēṇa niṅghī(sirihī)-patēḥ | gāmbhīryēṇa na sāgarasya viduṣhāṁ gūṣṭhīḥ
Vāchaspatēr-llābhir-ana Parandarasya nripatēḥ kō-nyaḥ praka-
- 14 rsha-kramāḥ || 10 || Yuddhē Kuṅjaravareṣa ṣha kim-iti sru(śru)tv-aiva nāma dvishō magnāḥ
kōchana pāda-pāṭka-ṣa-tala-chchāyā-nishapṇāḥ khaṇḍāt | u-aitach-ehitram-idaṁ-ta
yasya
- 15 charitach nistrināś(āstrināś)-dhārī-jalō yan-majjanti kiyaty-api kṣitipa(tēr)-mma[ṭṭa]-dvi-
pānā[ya]m² ghaṭāḥ || 11 || Sa paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-
- 16 śrīmat-Sauryādityadēvaḥ kusa(śa)llī | Darddashandikā-maṇḍa[la]-pratīva(ba)ddha-Dvi-
chatvāriṇāśa(rināśa)tikā-vishay-āntaḥpātī(ti)-Yamaṇḍūḍa-grāmaḥ | samupa³ga-
- 17 t-āśha-rājapa(pu)ruṣhān rūṇaka-ṭhaksur-āmātya-purōhita-mahāśō[ndhi*]vigraphika-mahā-
prsthāra-mahākehapāṭalika-mahāśādhika-mahā-
- 18 pūṇpati-mahāśānāpati-mahāśātakādhyakṣa-ḍuṣṭasādhyaśādhika-ḍa(dā)ṇḍika-ḍaṇḍipā-
[āika]⁴. śanika⁵. gaulmika-gamāgamika-dūtasaṁtō(mprē)ṣhaṇika-ta-
- 19 lavarggik-āgarakṣaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prabhyatin⁶ yathā-sthāna-niy[ā]k[ṭṭ]a-rāja-pā[ṭṭ]a-pajivi-
[nō] [tā]japuruṣhān [⁷ yathārham mānayati vō(bō)dhayati | ādīa-

¹ A has paramamā.² Read dvipānām.³ Read grāma-samupa³.⁴ Read śāṇḍapāṭika.⁵ Read śanika.⁶ Read prabhrīta.⁷ This danda and some others in the following section are superfluous.

[illegible]



- 20 ti | viditam=astu bhavatām | yathā grāmō=yam sa-jala-sthala[^{h*}] dīmā-paryantaḥ |
s-āmra-madhūkāḥ | sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ | sa-nidhi-nidhānaḥ | sa-jana-dhanaḥ | sa(eu)-palli-
- 21 k-ōpētaḥ | sukriṣṭaḥ | mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā=cha punya-yasō-bhivṛiddhayō | chandr-
ārka-kāṭi-kālāṁ yāvat | pūrvva-bhujyamāna-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-
- 22 kabētra-khaṇḍalāṁ vihāya¹ gōtrāya Bhārggava-Cha(Chya)vana²-Āpnumā(vā)na-Ya(Ja)-
madagni³-Aurvva-pravara(rā)ya paṭṭō(tṭō)lī-tāmvra(mra)śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=amābhīr-
mma-
- 23 [tvā] bhavadbhīr=anna(nu)mantavyam(vyam) | nivāsbhīr=ch-āijā⁴-śravapa-vidhāyibhāya
yata(yat) kiñchit rāja-pratyādāy-ādikaṁ tad-asy-ōpāna(nō)tavyam(vyam) | Samvat⁵
1083
- 24 Chaitra-śudī 13 Sa(Śa)man | ēvam=amunā vidhinā grāmam=ēna[m^{h*}] datvā(ttvā) rāj-
ādām=abbidhattō | Va(Ba)hubhū[r^{h*}]=vvasudhā da[t^{h*}]tō rājabbhī Saganā(r-ā)dibhīḥ |
yasya yasya ya-
- 25 dō bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [^{h*}][12^{*}] Gām=śkām svarṇam=śkām [cha^{h*}]
bhūmār=apy-śkam=aṅgula[m^{h*}] haran=narakam-āyāyati⁶ yāvad=āhūti-samupa(pla)vam-
(vam) || [13^{*}] Shashṭi-va[r]jha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi
- 26 mōdatō divi bhūmidāḥ | āchchhattō(tṭā) ch-ā[nu]mantā cha tāny-ēva narakā[m^{h*}]
vra[jō]⁷ || [14^{*}] Sam(Śam)kha[m^{h*}] bhadr-āsanam chchha(chha)tram vana(r-ā)śvō vara-
kūḥ(ku)ṣjaraḥ | bhūmī-dānasya chiknō(hnā)ṇi phalam sva-
- 27 rggas=tath-aiva cha || [15^{*}] Bhūmim ya[h^{h*}] pratigrihṇāti ma(ya)ś=cha bhūmim tha-
(pra)yachchhati [^{h*}] dra(u)bhau tau punya-karmāpau [^{h*}] mīmatam⁸ svargga-gāminau ||
[16^{*}] Sva-dattā[m^{h*}] para-dattāmvā(tṭām vā)
- 28 yō harōdvāsundharā⁹ [^{h*}] [ēva]-pi(vi)śhṭhāyām krimir-bhūtvā pitribhīḥ saha pachyatō ||
[17^{*}] Shashṭi-varsha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi shashṭi-varsha-śatāni cha | gūvām kōṭi-[pra]dānā
bhūmī-ha-
- 29 rttā na āndhyati || [18^{*}] Pha(Phā)la-kriṣṭāṁ mahīm dadhyō(dyāt) sa-vi(bī)jām āsya-
m[ā]||[i]u[i]m [^{h*}] yāvata śuryakritō lōkasyārata ārgga¹⁰ mahiyatō || [19^{*}] Iti kamala-
dattā(l-ā)-

¹ The following section is defective as the expected name of the donee is left out. The word left out before gōtrāya was Śāuryya.

² Sandhi has not been observed here.

³ Read ājā.

⁴ Read Samant.

⁵ There is a symbol looking somewhat like an anusvara of the Bengali type before the datta.

⁶ Read āyati.

⁷ The svarṇa-sign was first engraved, then peened through and afterwards endowed with a restoration mark.

⁸ The datta is unnecessary.

⁹ Read nigatam.

¹⁰ Read śurya-caryundharā.

¹¹ Read yāvat=ārgga-krit-lōkasya-rata-ārgga.

- 30 mvu(mbu)-vindu-lāśāś śriyam=anna(nu)chintya mamma(nu)shya-jīvitam cha [1*] sa-
kalam-idam=ulāgritam cha [1*] vuddhā* na hi purnahaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilā(lā)pyāḥ
[1*] [20*] Ādityō Varuṇō
- 31 Viṣṇu Vraṣṇā* Mō(Śō)mo Hutaśanaḥ [1*] Śra(Śō)lapāṇiś=cha bhagavān=abhinandati
[bhūmidam*] || [21*] śtatashānanōddiśā*-mātram=iti [1*]

3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

This copper-plate grant was secured by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and now lies in his possession. Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to take impressions of the inscription in August 1960. The plate is stated to have been secured from the village of Bagān under the Bihā Police Station of the Shahabad District of Bihar.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 13 inches in length and about 10½ inches in height. There is a small hole in the middle of the top margin of the plate. It was probably meant for hanging up the document from a nail in the wall. The corners of the plate are rounded off and there is no seal attached to it. There are 23 lines of writing only on one side of the plate, the last line being engraved vertically in the left margin. The engraving is neat and the writing is in a quite satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of about the fourteenth century A.D. The rare *akshara jā* occurs in line 3. *B* has been written by the sign of *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the *siddham* symbol and the word *siddhiḥ* at the beginning and the date in figures, etc., quoted in the left margin. **Orthographical errors** are not too many. But *y* has been written for *j* in some cases according to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of initial *y* especially in the East Indian dialects and, as in many other records, final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anumāra* at the end of the halves of stanzas. *ś* has been written for *śā* under the influence of local pronunciation. There are again some cases of confusion between *l* and *s*.

The **date** of the epigraph is given in verse 9 as **Sunday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyāishtha** in the **Vikrama** year counted by the words *arāṇi*, *naga*, *vahni* and *indu*. Of these words, *arāṇi*, *vahni* and *indu* respectively mean 1, 3 and 1, while *naga* or 'mountain' normally means 7, although some late writers are known to have recognized the word also in the sense of 'eight'.¹ Thus according to the *cūma-guṇī* principle, the year would be Vikrama 1371 or 1381. But the same date has been quoted in a prose passage incised on the left margin of the plate as *Soma 1381 Jyāishtha-śudī 10 Rāmu*. The Vikrama year was therefore really 1381 and not 1371. Sunday, Jyāishtha-śudī 10, in Vikrama 1381 corresponds to the 3rd June 1324 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current or Chaitrādi expired.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala* : *siddhiḥ* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Hari. Verse 2 (lines 1-3) introduces a great warrior named **Parāu** who is stated to have belonged to **Majhivāra** (*Majhivāra-śekhara-maṇḍa*) and to the

¹ These *śandā* are superfluous.

² Read *śuddhā*.

³ Read *Vishnu-śrīdhara*.

⁴ Read *śāśā-māra-siddhiḥ*.

⁵ Cf. Sewell, *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. 8.

Chēravu race (*Chēravu-vaiśya*). The next stanza (verse 3 in lines 3-5) mentions Parāu's son **Durlabha** while verse 4 introduces the donor of the charter. This is king **Bhulladēva** who was the son of Durlabha and is described as the ruler (*varapati*) of **Vihāpurī** and as the receiver of favours from the *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*. Bhulladēva is called **Bhullēvara** in verse 7 (line 10) and **Bhullēsa** in verse 10 (line 20), his actual name being **Bhulla**.

Thus Bhulla, who was the son of Durlabha and grandson of Parāu and belonged to Majhi-vāra and to the Chēravu race, apparently owed allegiance to *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*. The language of the record does not clearly indicate Bhulla's subordinate position, though it can be easily inferred from the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Muslim sovereign. The name *Chēravu* is the same as *Chērō* and we know that chiefs belonging to the aboriginal tribes called Oraon, Kharwar and Chērō flourished in the Shahabad-Palawan region during the medieval period.¹ The reference to Mahamanda-sāhi, i.e. Muhammad Shāh, and to his title *Khaliphā* is very interesting. It appears that, by *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*, the overlord of the Chērō ruler Bhulla, the contemporary Muslim Sultān of Delhi is meant. The designation *Khaliphā* stands for Arabic *Khalifa* meaning 'the successor to sovereign power', the title being especially applied to the Prophet Muhammad's successors who united the characters of the head of the State and of the Muhammadan religion, while many of the Sultāns of Delhi are described as *Khalifas* in the legends on their coins as well as in the inscriptions of their times. Muhammad Shāh, mentioned in our inscription, appears to be none other than Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, whose reign period is generally assigned to the period 1325-51 A.D. It should be pointed out that Sultān Muhammad is believed to have ascended the throne in February or March 1325 A.D.,² while our inscription bears the date: 3rd June 1324 A.D., suggesting that the Sultān actually ascended the throne before the middle of 1324 A.D., that is to say, more than six months earlier.

Verses 5-9 of our record speak of the donee of the grant and the donation he received from king Bhulla, the donor of the charter. Verse 5 mentions Vidyādhara belonging to the race of learned Brāhmaṇas (*śrētriya*) of Manjrinagara, his family being known as Gaṇḍasvāmī-kula (i.e., the lineage of which the progenitor was Gaṇḍasvāmin). As we shall see below, this Brāhmaṇa family belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Vidyādhara's son Chulhēvara is mentioned in verse 6 (lines 8-9) and the next stanza (lines 9-10) speaks of Sagunē (or Gunē), the son of Chulhēvara and the donee of the charter. It is stated that Sagunē obtained the post of *Sēdpati* and satisfied his master Bhullēvara by his services. From verse 8 we learn that Sagunē was devoted both to the goddess Śivā (i.e., Pārvatī, wife of Śiva) and Kēśava (i.e., Viṣṇu-Krishṇa) while verse 9 states that Bhulladēva dedicated the village of Vagendī in favour of the said Sagunē belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. Either the village was situated on the bank of the Ganges or the donor made the grant while he was standing or camping on the river bank.

¹ Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 16; Vol. XXXIV, p. 26, note 2. According to tradition, the Chērōs, who now work as coolies and wood-cutters and are reputed for being 'one of the hardest drinking castes', had formerly their own kings having one of their capitals at Bithia. This place is said to have been occupied by the Rajputs settled at Manjha on the Ghogra in the Saran District, who subdued the Chērōs in a struggle lasting for several centuries. The names of some Chērō rulers are known from traditions. Muslim historians mention a Chērō king named Mahanta whose activities closed the road from Bihar to Bengal and whom Shēr Shāh subdued with great difficulty. See *Gazetteer of the Shahabad District*, pp. 19, 21, 162, 166-67, 169-70.

² *Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 133. The year of his accession is given as A.H. 725 (from the 15th December 1324 A.D. to the 8th December 1325 A.D.). He is believed to have ascended the throne on his father's death about the beginning of that year. This is because the Rajahmundry (Daman District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum and noticed in Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1932, p. 59 (No. 106), and *A. R. Ep.*, 1932-33, pp. 19, 88 (No. 69), is reported to refer the Hijrī year 725 to the reign of Ghayathuddin Tughluq Shāh, Father of Muhammad. See *Ep. Ind.—A. P. Suppl.*, 1935-36, pp. 70, 112.

The above account is followed in lines 14-20 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 10-18). Verse 19 (lines 20-21) contains Bhūllā's prayer to other kings not to resume the grant made by him.

Verse 20 (lines 21-22) states that the grant was approved by (cf. *anumatra*) Jauga who was the chief scribe (*kanta-prasāda*) and the other scribes (officers or ministers). It is difficult to say whether Jauga was an officer of Bhulla or he was Muhammad Shāh's viceroy of the Shahabad region. But the facts that there are cases of a grant being *anumata* by one of the donor's subordinates¹ and that the second half of the verse speaks of the composition of the *prasaśa* (i.e. the document under study, by a Brāhmaṇa poet named Dhyaṇa, who was probably the court Pandit of Bhulla, may suggest that Jauga was one of Bhulla's officers. Verse 21 (line 22) says that the copper-plate grant (*ānuraṭṭhava-paṭṭala*) was written by Dhānū who was endowed with the qualities of the scribe (*Kāyastha-guṇa-sampanna*). It appears that Dhānū had the qualifications of a scribe but did not belong to the Kāyastha community and that he merely wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are : (1) Vihāpurī, the capital of the Chērū ruler Bhulla ; (2) the village of Vagēndī granted by him in favour of his Brāhmaṇa general Sagunē ; (3) the river tangles on the bank of which Vagēndī was situated or the donor was standing or camping while making the grant ; and (4) Maṇēmagara whence the donee's family hailed. Of the above names, Maṇē is no doubt modern Manor in the Dinapur Sub-Division of the Patna District while Vihā is the same as Bihyā, a railway station in the Shahabad District a few miles to the west of Araḥ, the headquarters of the District. Vagēndī is modern Bagēn, the firdpoṭ of the charter. Maṇivāra, mentioned in verse 2 (line 3) probably as the original home of Bhulla's family, may be modern Chandauli-Maṇiwar, a railway station near Mogalsarai, in the Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT

[Metrics : Verse 1 *Āryā* ; verses 2-5, 7-9 *Śāradakārikā* ; verses 6, 10-19, 21 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 20 *Uṣṇīṣi*.]

1. Siddham* ||[*] siddhiḥ || Ālōgita-Jaladhībhuvaṇ rechir-ādhara-pāna-bhā¹vanā-maikaṁ(kam) |
vikaṣṭa-mukuta-maṇḍa-prahasita-nayanaṁ Harit vāhidā || [1*] Vihā-Chēravu-
2. varṇa-bhūṣaṇataya lavdhā(bdh-ā)ntīrākā purī² vikhyātā dharaṇāśā nṛpa-kul-śaśā-
ṣṭa-aufānṛy-śdayāḥ ||[||] tan-mukhyā jvalan-ārkā-duṣṣhata-
3. rah śastr-śastra-śikṣā-gurur-³chō⁴ bhūn-Maṇivāra-śekhara-maṇi-maṇḍa Parāś mataḥ ||
[2*] Tasmād-indur-⁵śāśāśāḥ paripatan-nārā-
4. cha-chakra-kṣata-kṣhīna-kṣatriya-gōtra-putra-nivahāḥ kṣmā-durllabhā Durllabhāḥ⁶ |
udhāt-⁷śva(jīva)śa-kīrti-maṇḍita-maḥi-praśhāḥ gariṣṭhā gupar-śdān-ā-
5. namdita-vaṇḍi-vijhala-dharaṇāśāḥ prabhāḥ-⁸śva(jīva)śaḥ || [3*] Tat-sūnū-Vihāpurī-
narapatib ārmān yatō-bhūṣaṇā bhaga-śūka-marṇa-rakṣaṇa-parā-

¹IE above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.

²From *unpūṣṭa*.

³Expressed by symbol.

⁴An unnecessary *anuvāda* above śāś is deleted by the engraver.

⁵This *śāśā* is unnecessary.

⁶The *śāśā* is engraved above the line.

[illegible]

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22

- 6 ya(ja)jñāṣṭ prajāp-āvadhiḥ | yān-āptō Mahamamdasāhi-khaliphā-dattaḥ prasādaḥ parat
su(śu)ry-āvarjjita-bhūmipāla-mahayāḥ śri-Bhulladēvaḥ
- 7 andhā || [4*] Gaṇḍasavāni-kulō mahā-makha-yukhaḥ(juṣhaḥ) saci-chhrōtriya ya(ja)jñirā
s-āchārā dvija-chaḥ-sahastra(śra)-sahitāḥ satya-vratāḥ sādhaḥ | yat-samsargga-ra-
- 8 ān-Manērinagaram satsa(ch-chhā)śanāt pāvanāt jātāt tat-kula-bhūṣaṇaḥ sama-
bhavad-Vidyādhārō dharma-chhā || [5*] Tasmād-ujani dharm-ātma śrimach-Chu-
bhōva-
- 9 rah kṛit | mahāva(ba)lō dayā-dāna-dākhiny-āchāra-bhūṣaṇaḥ || [6*] Tat-putrō dvija-
karmma-dharmma-nirataḥ sūrah sukhi sajjanō dātā śri-pada-bhūṣitō-eti Sa-
- 10 guṇḍ-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ khitau | cūnāpatyam-avāpya yēna andhiyā kāryēshu mah-
trēshu cha prandhiḥ saṅgata-mastakēshu mehitā Bhulladēva-patayō || [7*] Yō-
- 11 n-ājāra(śra)-Śivō-pad-āva(bja)m-annalāni saṁsēvyatō sādaram yach-chittāni mudam-
ēti Kēśava-kathā-phjā-stutaḥ nityasāḥ | Yat-kund-āhū-samāna-kānti-yasā-
- 12 atōmāna dig-bhittayō dhantā-tasya mahatva(tīva)meattama-guṇāni kaś-ch-ēti vaktum
kshanāḥ || [8*] Ētasmāi sa hi Bhulladēva-nipatīḥ Sā(Sā)ndilya-gōtrāya cha grā-
- 13 mōni grāma-guṇ-ārayatā samuchitāni nāmnā Vagēnd-īti tam(tam) | varshē Vikrama-
bhūbhujō-vani-nagair-vvahn-indubhiḥ sarhyutō Bhānau Jyēshtha-śi(ei)tān-
tath-āpya dāsa-
- 14 mīm Garīgā-tatē dattavāna(vān) || [9*] Bhūmih yaḥ pratigrihā(hā)ti bhūmim ya-cha
prayachchati | ubhau tē puṅya-karmmapau ślyatāni svargga-gāminau || [10*] Va(Ba)-
bubhiḥ prithi-
- 15 vi dattā rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) ||
[11*] Sva-dattāni parā-dattāni vā yō harēdva(ta va)minulharātī(rām) | sa viśthā-
yān kṛi³
- 16 mīr-bhūtvā pīṭhibhiḥ saha pacyatō || [12*] Śamkham bhadr-āśa(sa)nam chekha(chha)-
trāni var-āivā vata-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chiknāni phalam-ētat-Purādūra || [13*]
Hira-
- 17 gya-mapi-muktāni vastrāṇy-ābharāṇāni cha | tēna sarvyam-idān-dattāt yēna dattā
vasa[m*]dharō || [14*] Suvarṇam-ēka(m) gām-ēkām bhūmīr-apy-anidham-amgulaḥ-
(lam) | hara-
- 18 n-narakam-āpōti yāvad-āhūta-samplavam(vam) || [15*] Tadāgānām sahasrō(śrō)ga²
āsvamēdha-satēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-hattā na śudhyati || [16*] Śha³

¹ Or Śa Gaud².² A escape sign with a cancellation mark was engraved here in order to cover a little space at the end of the line.³ Sundhī has not been observed here.

19. *śhṭai(śhṭi)-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggā vasati bhūmidah | āchekhlātā ch-ānumantī cha-tāny-ēva*
narakā vasēta(śēt) || [17] Vāri-hinēshv-aragyēshu sushka-kōṭara-vā-*
20. *śinal ||** *kṛishṇasarpāḥ prajāyantē dēva-vra(brahma-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [18*] Iti matvā na*
kartavyā dēja-bhūmir-nnarādhipāḥ | Bhāllesō yāchātē rājā
21. *kṛitē sambuṭitan karau || [19*] Dān-ānumantā karuṇa-pravīraḥ śri-Janya-samjñah sa(sa)-*
chīyāḥ samētah | prastim-ētasya chakāra viprah śri-Dhyāna-nā-
22. *mā sukaviḥ suśīlah || [20*] Śrīmāna(mān) Dhēn lilekh-ēdam tāmra-sāṇa¹-paṭakam(kam) |*
Kāyastha²-gupa-sambhannō vra(brahmaṇyaḥ sat-savatsalah || [21] śubham=astu [1*]*
23. ³*Siddham⁴ ||** *Sarh 1381 Jyaishtṭha-śudi 10 Ravau ||*

¹ Read āṇana.

² We may also read *Kāyastha (śāḥ)* and suggest that Dhēn belonged to the Kāyastha Community.

³ This is a vertically written line engraved in the left margin.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

No. 18—PENUGONDA PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.7.1960)

This inscription is engraved on a set of five plates, discovered at the village of Penugonda in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. It was secured by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, who sent it for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in February 1953. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, as No. A 14.

The plates, which are thin, measure each about 9 inches in length and 1·9 inches in height. They are held together by a ring (·3 inch in thickness) passing through a hole (·5 inch in diameter) in the left margin of the plates. The ring had not been cut when the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The second, third and fourth plates bear their respective numbers in the left margin on the obverse. The joint of the ring is soldered to an elliptical seal which bears the figure of an animal facing proper right and a legend, both very much obliterated. The animal seems to be a bull and the legend apparently contained the name of the donor of the charter, viz. king Hastivarman, although, of the five *aksharas* in which it was written (probably *śrī-Hastivarmanā*), only the two at the beginning can be read as *śrī-Ha*. The first and fifth plates are written on the inner side while the other plates have writing on both the sides. The weight of the five plates together is 54 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 22½ tolas.

Excepting the second side of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth, which have each three lines of writing, the other inscribed faces of the plates have only two lines each. Thus there are altogether eighteen lines of writing in the whole inscription. Individual letters, excluding *a*, *e*, etc., as also the conjuncts and the consonants endowed with vowel marks, are generally a little less than half an inch in height.

The palaeography of the inscription under study generally resembles that of such records of about the middle of the fourth century A. D. as the Kārukollu (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) plates* of the Śālaṅkīyana king Nandivarman I and there are some expressions common to both the records, though the language and orthography of the present epigraph may suggest a date slightly later than that of the Kārukollu plates. As regards palaeography, the inscription uses the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 10, 17 and 18), *ā* (line 12) and *āḥ* (line 6) as well as symbols for the numbers 2, 3 and 4. The mark of punctuation is indicated by a small vertical stroke in line 13 (cf. the somewhat bigger marks in the double *śaṅḍa* in line 14) and by a small curved stroke opening towards the right in line 16.

As regards language, it may be pointed out that, while the Kārukollu plates are written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit, our epigraph is couched in Prakrit, Sanskrit and an admixture of both the languages. The Prakrit used in both these records is what may be called the

* Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. See also the Dhāṅkīpāra grant (below, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.).

† Macron over *a* and *ā* has not been used in this article.

later inscriptional Prakrit characterised by the reduplication of consonants.¹ But, while Sanskrit is used in the Kānukollu plates only in the imprecatory and benedictory section containing a few stanzas at the end of the charter, our inscription not only has the corresponding section in Sanskrit verse but uses Sanskrit words elsewhere in the Prakrit section as well. By way of illustration, we may refer to the two expressions in the passage *dharm-āya-bala-vuddhan-attam* *stavanayan-ātham-cha* in line 4, in which the first expression is in Prakrit and the second in Sanskrit. In *nān-gotra-charana-tapa-sajjhāya-homa-vrata-niyama-rotānā* in lines 6-7, *gotra* and *vrata* are typical Sanskrit words in an otherwise Prakrit compound expression, while, in the passage *paṇḍa-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-chaṭkarmma-niradānā* in lines 9-10, *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) is a typical Prakrit word in a Sanskrit compound. It will be seen that *ta* and *dhya* of Sanskrit have been retained in *vata* and *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* respectively but have been modified respectively in *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) and *sajjhāya* (Sanskrit *sādhyā*). The above quotations will show that the influence of Sanskrit in the language and orthography of our epigraph is more pronounced than on the language of records of the type of the Kānukollu plates. The language of the present inscription thus represents the final stage of Prakrit in South Indian epigraphy before its complete supersession by Sanskrit about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Our inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the fourth century on the grounds of palaeography, language and orthography.

A few other points regarding the orthography and language of the inscription may also be mentioned here. Both *g* and *ṅ* have been indiscriminately used in the inscription, and *dh* has been reduplicated in conjunction with *y* in *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* in line 9. For what look like *chasthi* in line 17 and **gundā* in line 2, *chasthi* and *gundā* (for Sanskrit *gundhā*) were really intended, the second of the two words exhibiting the Dravidian tendency to non-aspiration. In *vayanana* (Sanskrit *vachanena*) in line 3 and *panayana* (Sanskrit *panachana*) in line 8, *cha* has been changed to *ya* by the process of the elision of the consonant and the substitution of the remaining *a* by *ya*. The letter *ḍ* has been similarly changed to *y* in **aṭṭhamiyaya* (Sanskrit **aṭṭhamiṭṭhāyā*) in line 13. But *niradānā* in line 10 exhibits the modification of a sibilant (*ṣ*) to consonant (*ḍ*). In *ppamuka* (Sanskrit *pramukha*) in lines 5-6 and *sa-muk-ā* (Sanskrit *sa-mukh-ā*) in line 14, *kh* has been changed to *k* and, in *pariharatha* (Sanskrit *pariharatha*) in line 12, *th* has been modified to *dh*. The words *niraga* and *chhandorachita* (line 8) have been used in the senses of the medical and metrical sciences respectively.

The inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the donor. Unfortunately the word indicating the year of his reign in line 13 is rubbed off, though from the traces of the letters on the impressions it can probably be restored as *dabē*, i.e. 2. The other details of the date are: the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeshtha (*kāl-attṭhamiyaya*-Sanskrit *kāl-āṣṭamī-ti-thyā*), Bhādrapada-nakshatra. Whether the nakshatra was Pūrva or Uttara Bhādrapada is not specified in the record though the position of the nakshatra shows that the month was *amānta*. It is interesting to note that, even though the charter was issued probably in the king's second regnal year, he was then a hundred years old (cf. *vāsa-sat-āyuka*-Sanskrit *varsha-sat-āyushka* in line 3). The circumstances leading to his accession to the throne at such an advanced age cannot, of course, be determined without further light on the subject.

The inscription begins with the *śāddham* symbol followed by the mention of the victorious [city of] Jayapura whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-3 state that it was issued in the words of Mahārāja Hastivarman who was a hundred years old and was devoted to Bhagavat Nārāyaṇa, while lines 3-8 show that the king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the villagers

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

(*grāma*-Sanskrit *grāma*, literally 'a village', used here in the sense of *grāmayaka*) of Mulukali in the *āhīra* (district) of *Kāpura*, headed by their *mutuḍa* (*mutuḍa*, no doubt meaning 'the village headman'), and that the grant was made for the increase of the virtue (*dharma*), longevity and strength of the king, for his passage to heaven (*svar-nyāsa*) and for his attainment of religious merit. The donees of the grant, described in lines 5-10, were sixty Brāhmaṇas whose names are not enumerated. They are, however, stated to have belonged to various *gotras* and *charaṇas* and to have been engaged in penance (*tapas*), recitation of sacred texts (*svādhyāya*), offering of oblations to gods (*homa*), observance of vows (*vratas*) and religious austerities (*niyama*) as well as in the six duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa (*choḥ-karman*), viz. *yajana* (offering sacrifices), *yājana* (conducting sacrifices), *adhyayana* (study), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *dāna* (charity) and *prati-grāha* (receipt of gifts) and were also experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, *śikṣā* (tradition), *purāṇa*, *nirṇaya* (medical science), *chāṇḍa-māta* (metrics) and *pravachana* (exposition). The concluding part of the sentence in lines 10-11 states that the grant of the village was made to the said Brāhmaṇas as *śakṣiṇā* for what is called *prathama-kalyāṇa* that they must have performed for the king. The word *kalyāṇa* here no doubt means a ceremony to bring health or prosperity to the king while the adjective *prathama* suggests that it was the first of a series which the king contemplated to perform. Unfortunately the exact nature of the ceremony cannot be determined. It is, however, interesting to note that, although the increase of the donor's longevity was one of the objects of the grant, another object was his passage to heaven. This latter, when considered along with the fact that the donor was a hundred years old at the time of making the grant, suggests that the charter was issued when the king was afraid of death in the near future. The prayer for longevity, however, precludes the possibility of the case being exactly similar to that recorded in the Rākohasthālī (Sondarban) plate of Dommānapāla.¹

The residents and the headman of the gift village were ordered to exempt the village with the customary exemptions of obstacles for the sake of the *devatā* probably meaning the god Nārāyaṇa to whom the king was devoted (lines 11-12) while the donees were expected to enjoy the gift permanently (lines 12-13). It is possible to think from the reference to the god in this connection that the god Nārāyaṇa was worshipped in a temple at Jayapura which the king visited on pilgrimage and that the *kalyāṇa* ceremony, on the occasion of which the grant was made, was performed in the said temple. It further suggests that many of the donees were associated with the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The date of the charter, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 13-14 where it is also stated that the grant was executed under orders of the king himself (*sa-mah-āpatti*-Sanskrit *sa-mahā-āpatti*). This is followed in lines 14-15 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the mention of *Amāta* (probably, a minister) Jayasvāmin who appears to have been its writer.

The inscription does not offer any indication regarding the dynasty to which king Hastivarman belonged. But, about the time in question, the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgi (modern Pedda-Vēgi near Eluru in the West Godavari District) are known to have been ruling over the region between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Godāvari rivers and it is possible to think of the identification of our Hastivarman with one of the two known Hastivarmans of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. (1) Hastivarman I who was probably a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and (2) Hastivarman II who was a son (probably the eldest son) of Nandivarman I (the donor of the Kāṇukollā plates

¹ See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.

referred to above) and the grandson of Hastivarman I and is known from the Kāṇḍakollu copper-plate¹ inscription of his own son Sitādhavarman, which is written in the Sanskrit language. Since the language of our inscription, as indicated above, stands midway between that of the Kāṇḍakollu Prakrit plates of Nandivarman I and the Sanskrit plate of Skandavarman from the same place, it is probably better to identify our Hastivarman with Śilādhāyana Hastivarman II.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the known Śilādhāyana charters are all issued from the city of Vēṅgi which was the capital of the Śilādhāyana kings and that these rulers are generally represented in their records specifically as Śilādhāyana and also as devoted to Bhagavat Chitrarathasvāmin. As regards the mention of the kings as Śilādhāyana and the reference to the god Chitrarathasvāmin, it may be pointed out that the Kāṇḍakollu copper-plate inscription of Nandivarman I, one of the earliest known Śilādhāyana charters, does not contain any such reference. The said elements thus appear to have been popularised in the records of the family at a later date. Their absence in a charter of one who appears to have been the immediate successor of Nandivarman I is thus not unintelligible. As regards the issue of our grant from Jayapura instead of Vēṅgi, it has to be noticed that the charter may not have been issued from the capital of the donor, but, as indicated above, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are [the city of] Jayapura, the district of Kāṇḍa and [the village of] Muḥukuli. I am not sure about the exact location of any of them. Muḥukuli, however, reminds us of Muḥurālapalle in the Nalgonda Taluk in the East Godavari District.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* [(*)] Vijaya-Jayapura bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-charaṇa-śravaṇa-
- 2 rajo-yagnodita* āraṇa vīsa-sat-āyukasa mahārāja-si-

Second Plate, First Side

2^a

- 3 Hatthivarmasasa varagena Kāṇḍa-ādhāra appaga¹
- 4 dhāman-āya-bala-rivaddha-utthamā-sar-muṇya-ārthādhāna

Second Plate, Second Side

- 5 amha²-punn-appāyana-nimitta Muḥukuli³-mudṇa-ppamu-
- 6 hā(ho) gāmo bhūṇitavve [(*)] etam g[ā]maṁ nānā-gotta-charaṇa-

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7 ff.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The intended reading is * gundita for Sanskrit gundita.

⁵ This is inscribed in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

⁶ The passage from appaga here to nimitta in line 5 should properly be read in the next sentence, beginning with etam in line 6.

⁷ The reading may be anāṇa also.


⁸ The word gāmo seems to have been omitted here through the oversight of the writer or engraver. Cf. mahāśāla-śrī-Nandivarmasasa-cakrasaṁ-piṇḍa-pāṇa-mudṇa-ppamu-śaraṇa, etc., in lines 2-4 of the Kāṇḍakollu plates of Nandivarman I.

2


 ॐ ह्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥


II, a

4


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

II, b

6


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

III, a

8


 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

10 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं
 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं

10

12 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं
 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं

12

14 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं
 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं

14

16 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं
 ॐ वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं वदामहं

16

18

Third Plate, First Side

3^a

7 tapā-sajjhāya-homa-vata-miyama-ratāgam veda-vedhāg-eti-

8 hāsa-purāya-niroga-chhandovichita-pavayaya-paragāyan

Third Plate, Second Side

9 yajana-yājan-śādhayana-śādhayāna-dāna-pratigrāha-śaṭka-

10 mama-niradāpana saṭṭu-Bamba'yāpana ambehi prathama

Fourth Plate, First Side

4^a

11 kalyāṇa-dakṣiṇa-namitta sam[pa]dattam. [1*] tam devat-attha(ttho)ga

12 savva-bādha-parihārahi parihāradha [1*] ā-āhanda-tānakam

Fourth Plate, Second Side

13 bhūjanta | [dabe' sa]vachchhara(rā) Jettha-māsa-kāl-aṭṭhamiyaya

14 sa'-muh-āyattī² Bhadrāpada-naksha[tre] sampadattam || Bahubhū-vasu-

15 dhā dattā bahubhū-cha-[ān]upāli[1*]

Fifth Plate

16 yaaya yaaya yadā [bhū]mis-taaya tasya tadā phalam [1*]

17 Shashdī(śhī)-varsha-saha[s]r[āṇ]i svagā(rgga) modati [bhū]midaḥ [1*] apsharittā ch-ānu-
mantā cha³

18 *śāvan-marekam-pi[on]chhati [1*] amātya-Jaya(vjāmi(mi)nā)* [1*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) Let there be success! From the victorious **Jayapura**, the villagers of **Malukuli** in the **Kānta** district, headed by (their) *mutuḍa*, should be addressed in the (following) words of the illustrious **Mahārāja Hastivarman** who is one hundred years old and whose head is covered

¹ This is engraved in the left margin on a level a little above that of the ring hole.

² Originally *śā* had been incised; but the *ś*-mark was rubbed off.

³ This is engraved in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

⁴ These two *śā* marks are badly rubbed off.

⁵ This *śā* mark has been incised to the left of the ring hole.

⁶ The intended expression seems to be 'deception'.

⁷ The metre of this stanza and the following one = *Anuṣṭup*.

⁸ Read *śāvan-marekam-pi[on]chhati* or *śāvan-marekam-pi[on]chhati* for the sake of the metre.

⁹ This line begins from below the middle of the previous line.

¹⁰ Top sign *śā* seems to have been omitted for want of space at the end of the line.

with the pollens of the lotus that is the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa : "For the increase of our virtue, longevity and strength and for our passage to heaven, (and also) for our attainment of religious merit,—

(Lines 6-11) this village is granted by us, as the *dotāḥita* of the first *śaigṛa* (ceremony), to the sixty Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests who performed the ceremony) who belong to various *gotras* and *chraṇas* ; who are engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblations to gods, observance of vows and religious austerities ; who are experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, tradition (*śikṣā*), *purāṇa*, medical science (*aiśra*), metrical science (*śikṣāśikṣā*) and the exposition of texts (*pīṭhaka*) ; and who are (also) engaged in the six duties (of the Brāhmaṇas, such as) study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting sacrifices, charity and receipt of gifts.

(Lines 11-14) Exempt the said (village), for the god's (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's) sake, with all exemptions from obstacles. Let (the donors) enjoy (it) as long as the moon and stars endure. (It) is given by orders from our own mouth on the dark eighth (i.e. the eighth of the dark fortnight) of the month of Jyeshtha when the nakṣatra is Bhādrapada and the (regnal) years are (to be counted as) two."

(Lines 14-16) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

(Line 18) (Written) by Amātya Jayasvāmin.

No. 19—GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 2

(I Plate)

G. S. GAI, Ootyacamundi

(Received on 26.2.1969)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription, which is edited below, was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India about the end of 1957. The plates were found somewhere in the old Mysore State; but I have no information as to their findspot and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The set consists of **three** plates each measuring about 5.6" long and 3.5" broad. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through and a **seal**, oval in shape and measuring about 1.3" by 1", is attached to the ring. The counter-sunk surface of the seal contains the figure of an animal which cannot be made out from the photograph. The weight of the set is not recorded.

The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have each 4 lines of writing while the third plate contains 5 lines. Thus there are 17 lines of writing in all. The letters are boldly and deeply cut and the writing is very well preserved.

The **characters** are the box-headed variety of the Southern type and closely resemble those of the Haleś¹ and the Devagiri² plates of king Mrigēśavarman who issued the present charter. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 6, 8 and 11 while *u* is found in line 16. Medial *i* is indicated by a curve inside the loop. Final *u* occurs in lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 17. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except an imprecatory verse at the end, the text is in prose. Of grammatical interest is the rare use of the *Parasmaipada* form *placuit* in lines 9 and 10. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is doubled.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijaya-Sīva-Mrigēśavarman** of the Kadamba dynasty and registers gifts of some lands made by him to the Brāhmanas Rudrārya and Nandārya of the Bhārgava *gōtra*. The king has the usual epithets found in his other grants and there can be no doubt about his identity with Mrigēśavarman, the eldest son and successor of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākusthavarman. He is also called *paramatbrahmanya* in our record.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its **date** which is given as the **tenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of **Hēmantā** in the king's **second regnal year**. This is the **earliest** inscription of Mrigēśavarman discovered so far. Till now the Devagiri³ plates of his third year were regarded as the earliest record. I have shown elsewhere⁴ that Mrigēśavarman may be referred to the period 450-75 A.D.

The gift consisted of two plots of land: one within the limits of the village **Kōgulipōguya** which was situated in **Antarmalaya-rājya**; and the other, within the limits of **Vālpālī** and **Pōttara** which were also apparently included in the same territorial unit. The extent of both the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25 and Plate.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 37-38 and Plates.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

⁴ *Journ. Or. Res.* (Madras), Vol. XVII, pp. 39 ff. For another suggestion regarding Mrigēśavarman's date, see *Sumer. Soc.*, 836, pp. 234-36.

fields was as far as the water would flow. Probably there was a stream or a rivulet in both the places and the land irrigated by the water of the stream was granted. The field is called *pukkōlli kshētra* in both the places. The expression *pukkōlli* occurs in some other grants of this period and though its exact significance is not known, I have suggested that it may mean a 'kind of field'.¹ This suggestion is strengthened by the present inscription where the context in which the expression *pukkōlli* occurs shows that it is a kind of cultivable wet land.

Antarmalaya-rājya as well as Kōgulipōguyapalli, Vēllāli and Pōttara, which were situated in it, cannot be identified.

Text²

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* || Vijaya-Vaijayantyaṁ(ntyām) Svāmi-mahāśāna-mātri-gaṇ-ā-
- 2 nuddhyāt-ābhahikṭasya³ Mānavya-sagōtrasya Hārītī-
- 3 putrasya pratikṛta-charchchā-pārasya Kadambānām(nām)
- 4 dharmma-mahārājasya Śrī-Vijaya-Siva-Mṛigēśavarmanah

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 vijaya-vaijayikah sarivva(va)tsarah dvitīyah Hēmanṭa-pakeśah
- 6 ebaturttah tithir-ddaśāmi anay-ānupūrvyā brāhmaṇābhyām
- 7 Bhārgava-sagōtrābhyām(bhyām) v-āchāra-sampannābhyām(bhyām) Rudrāryya-
- 8 Nandvāryvābhyām Antarmmalaya-rājye Kōgulipōguya-pall(y)li(li)-⁴

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 sinu yāvad-āpah plava(m*)ti tāvat-pukkōlli-kshētram(tram) Vēlpalli-
- 10 Pōttarayōh sinu cha yāvad-āpah pīvat(m*)ti tāvad-ēvaṁ
- 11 pukkōlli-kshētram anēka-jamāntar-ōpārjita-tubha-samakāra(h)
- 12 va-vīṇḍha-pitri-mātri-vamsah n-āika-vīḍha-pradāna-ditrah parama-brahmagya(h)

Third Plate

- 13 Dharmma-mahārājah Śrī-Mṛigēśavarmma dattavān-ātma-krēyō-bhyodaya-
- 14 nimittam(tam) sarva-parihārēya brahmadāya-samayēna (I*)
- 15 yō-bhirakabati sa tat-punya-phala-bhāg-bhavati yō harati sa
- 16 mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati uktān-cha (I*) Bahubhir-vrasudhā bhuktā
- 17 rājāhni-Sagar-ādibhiḥ (I*) yasya yasya yadū bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā pha(lam) ||

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 218. For another suggestion regarding *pukkōlli* see above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 54.

² From the photographs.

³ This word is written about the beginning of the second line.

⁴ There is an unnecessary hook-like mark after *ago*.

⁵ [The reading is *Kōgulipōguya-palliyōh*.—Ed.]

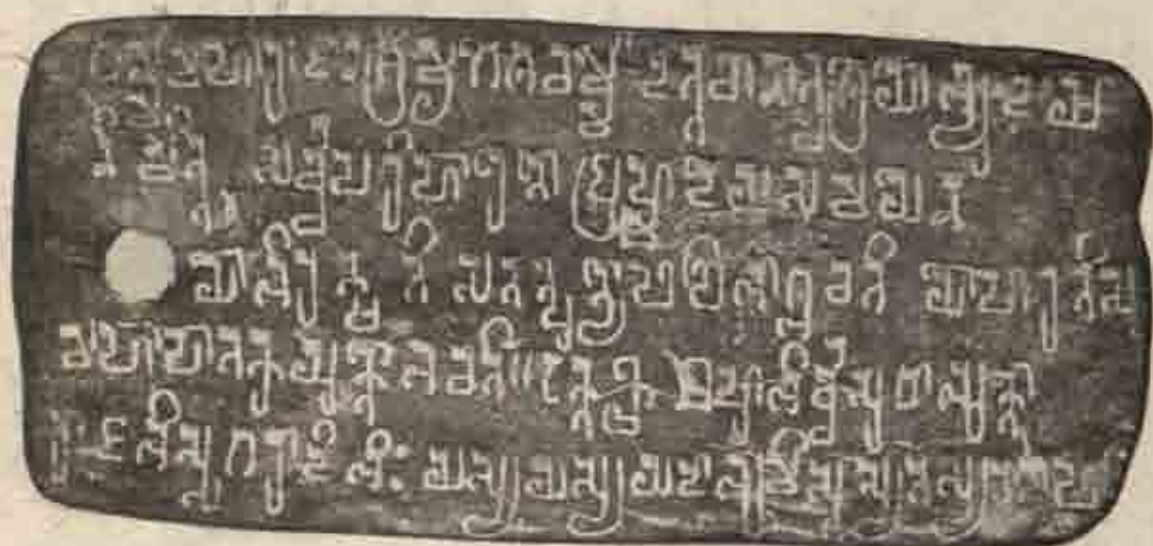
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SEAL



(from Photographus)

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gait
Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 20—SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADEVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1223

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOGTAMUND

(Received on 25.1.1961)

The Tārāchandi rock inscription¹ of king Pratāpādhavāla of Jūpila, dated Vikrama 1223, Jyāshtha vadi 3, Wednesday (16th April 1169 A.D.), records the interesting fact that the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala secured a forged grant in respect of the two villages of Kalahandi and Badayilā by bribing Deñi who was an officer of king Vijayachandra of Gādhinagara or Kanyakubja, i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name who ruled in c. 1155-70 A.D. In this record, Pratāpādhavāla advised his descendants not to recognise the spurious document but to collect revenues and tolls from the two villages as usual. Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala (modern Sūnahar), Kalahandi (modern Karvañḍiyā) and Badayilā (modern Baraillā) are localities near Tārāchandi about three miles from Sasaram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Thanks to the energy of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, the forged grant issued in the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra to the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) has been recently secured by him from the house of an inhabitant of Sūnahar. In August 1960, Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to copy the inscription at his residence at Patna.

It is a single plate measuring 17 inches in length and 12.6 inches in height and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There are twenty-six lines of writing on the first side and only ten lines on the second. No seal is affixed to the plate, though we have a hole (6 inch in diameter) in the centre of its upper part disturbing the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2 on the obverse.

In respect of **paleography, language and style**, the inscription closely resembles other Gāhaḍavāla charters including those of Vijayachandra himself.² As regards **orthography**, it may be said that class nasals have been more often used than anusvāra.

The interesting fact about the writing of the grant under study is that the *akṣaras* in many cases have been inaccurately formed so that often the sign of one *akṣara* looks like that of another or of no *akṣara* at all. In this respect, the present inscription has a close similarity with the Varanasi plate³ of the Kalachuri king Karna (1041-71 A.D.). This peculiar feature of Karna's grant is explained by the fact that it was issued by the king when he was performing his father's annual *śrāddha* ceremony at Prayāga on the Venī (Trivenī near Allahabad). When the king was far away from his capital, no experienced engraver may have been available to him and he had probably to engage a local goldsmith who failed to read the draft of the record prepared by an officer of the king and shaped the *akṣaras* as he believed to have seen them in the draft. Similar seems to have been the case with the grant under study. Its draft, probably prepared by Deñi known from the Tārāchandi inscription to have been an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra and to have been bribed by the Brāhmanas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) for securing the forged

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 29 ff.

² A grant of Govindachandra and another of Vijayachandra have been recently published in this journal. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 176 ff. and Plate facing p. 180; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 233 ff. (without illustration). For two other copper-plate charters of Vijayachandra, see above, Vol. IV, p. 117; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7.

³ Above, Vol. II, pp. 303 ff. and Plates.

charter, appears to have been given for engraving to an ordinary goldsmith having little experience in this kind of work and he shaped the aksharas as he thought fit. The engravers in both these cases appear to have had very little education.

The peculiar nature of the writing discussed above renders it difficult to prepare an accurate transcript of the inscription; though the introductory and concluding parts of the record are similar to the corresponding sections of the other known charters of Vijayachandra, referred to above. As will be seen below, the date of the grant is quoted as **Vikrama 1223, Bhādra sudi 9, Monday**. This corresponds regularly to Monday, the 5th September 1166 A.D., the year being current and the month Nija-Bhādrapada.

The inscription begins with what was meant to be a *śiṣṭham* symbol followed by the auspicious expression *śrīmaṣi*. This is followed by twelve stanzas already known from the other records of Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra though they are engraved in an indifferent way as indicated above: (1) *Akṣayā-tkayātha-Vakṣayā*, etc. (line 1); (2) *Āśid=Āśibhagat*, etc. (lines 1-2); (3) *Tal-sat=bhāga=Mahachandra*, etc. (lines 2-3); (4) *Tasy-ābhūt=tanaya*, etc. (lines 3-4); (5) *Tirthānī Kāśī-Kulīk-Ōṣa*, etc. (lines 4-5); (6) *Tasy-ātmajā Madanapāla*, etc. (lines 5-6); (7) *Tasy-āśid=viṣṇu-prajāp*, etc. (lines 6-8); (8) *Tasmād=ajyala vij-āyata-bīha*, etc. (lines 8-9); (9) *Nā-katham=apy=alābhanto*, etc. (line 9); (10) *Ajuni Vijayachandra*, etc. (lines 9-10); (11) *Loka-tray-ākramaya-kil*, etc. (lines 11-12); and (12) *Yasminī=chaloty=śadahi*, etc. (line 12).

The above section in verse is followed by a passage in prose as known from the other charters of Vijayachandra, in which the reigning monarch is represented as the successor (cf. *pūṭi-dan-dhyāta*) of **Gōvindachandra** who was himself the successor of **Madanapāla**, the successor of **Chandra**.¹ Then follows the grant proper. The king's order in respect of the grant is addressed to the inhabitants of **Kirihindī** together with **Badaū** situated in the **Saputrāra patta** as well as to a host of subordinates and officers, whose list is similar to that generally found in the records of the Gāhādavālas. It will be seen that **Badaū** and **Kalahaū** of Pratāpachavala's epigraph have been written here as **Badaū** and **Kirihindī**. The second name may be a mistake for **Kalahaū**, though the modern form of the name, viz. *Karavindī*, would suggest that **Kirihindī** or **Karahaū** was an alternative form. The name of the *patta* or district of Saputrāra is not known from any other source and it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written.

The passage quoting the date of the grant in lines 21-22 reads as: *vināyapātrav-cāḍapa-satraya-katani Bhāṭapadi māhi sita-pakṣi bhacatp tighai Bhāṭa-dit opatā=pi san 1223 Sāprā-sudi 9 Soma Simhastā savitari*. The intended reading for this was apparently: *trayāśvīnī-ady-adhika-āśādha-lata savitāsan Bhāṭapadi māsi sita-pakṣi sacanyāsa tighai Soma-dine naktā=pi san 1223 Bhāṭa-sudi 9 Soma Simhastā savitari*. The charter is thus purported to have been issued on Monday, the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhāṭrapada in the year [Vikrama] 1223 when the sun was in the Simha rāśi. This date corresponds to the 5th September 1166 A.D. as indicated above.

The following passage in lines 22-23 states in the style of the Gāhādavāla charters that the grant was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the **Ganges at Vārānasi** for the merit and fame of his parents and himself. The donees of the grant are mentioned in line 25 in the passage: *Sonahala-grāma-nivāsi-pyūṣmīcharaya-lākhāyā nātā-gotrāyā Vātānāyā* for which the intended reading is no doubt *Svarnahala-grāma-nivāsi-nātā-cēta-charaya-lākhāyā nātā-gotrāyā Brāhmanāyā*. Thus the grant is purported to have been made in favour of the

¹ The inscriptions of the Gāhādavāla family generally quote his name as *Chandradva*, through his own records sometimes give it both as *Chandradva* and *Chandradīpatta*. See above, Vol. XIV, pp. 194 (text line 14) and 198 (text line 9); but cf. Vol. IX, p. 304 (text lines 4 and 7).

Brāhmaṇas of Svargahala, who belonged to various *gōtras*, *charaṇas* and *kāṇhas*. The name *Sonahala*, as found in our record, is a modification of *Svargahala* or *Searnahala* noticed in the Tārāchandi inscription. It is thus these Brāhmaṇas who were charged by king Pratāpadevāla of Jāpila with the possession of a forged document fabricated with the help of an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king.

After advising the inhabitants of the gift villages to pay the royal dues to the donees (line 26), a number of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-35. The language of this section also resembles that of the corresponding part of other Gāhaḍavāla charters. The last line of the record (line 36) reads: *likhitaṁ vīkṣam āprakaṁ mahāśahapatalika-gkura-ṛi-Śrīpatika=ari* no doubt standing for *likhitaṁ ak=idaṁ āmrakaṁ mahāśahapatalika-thakura-ṛi-Śrīpatika=ari*. Thus the charter is purported to have been written by the *Mahāśahapatalika Thakura Śrīpatika*. The same *Mahāśahapatalika Thakura Śrīpati* is known from a number of inscriptions of Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.),¹ though his name does not occur in the published records of Vijayachandra himself who was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter.²

It will be seen that the present grant was forged in September 1166 A.D. and Pratāpadevāla declared it to be spurious in April 1169 A.D. Apparently the Brāhmaṇas of Svargahala exposed themselves when they had presented the forged document to the officers who went to collect taxes for the villages of Badayilā or Badailā and Kalahandi or Kirihiṇḍi on behalf of Pratāpadevāla. It is of course not clear whether Pratāpadevāla was a subordinate of Vijayachandra or ousted Gāhaḍavāla rule from what is called Saputtara-pattalā, i.e. the modern Sasaram Subdivision of the Shahabad District. We can see, however, that the exposure of the Brāhmaṇas' crime does not come soon after the winter (i.e. the harvesting season when taxes were generally collected) of the years 1167 and 1168 A.D. This may be explained by the supposition that the overthrow of Gāhaḍavāla rule by Pratāpadevāla from the area in question took place after the winter of 1168 A.D. or that the Brāhmaṇas were hesitating for some time to put up their claim to the two villages on the authority of the forged document. It is also possible that the tax-collectors were originally deceived successfully by the culprits who were caught after sometime.

The geographical names occurring in the inscription have already been discussed above.

TEXT³

Overview

- 1 *Śiddham** paṁ(ṣ) khabhiti(ṣvasti) || Akunḥ-ō(t*)kanṭha-Vaikunṭha-kanṭha-piṭha-qu(hi)thak-kurah || su(m*)ratuḥ(mbhah) surat-ārabhṭe(mbhō) sa āripaḥ(yah) bhūma(ārōya)ṣe=su-(stu) rah(vah) || 1*] *Ācid=An(ā)tapu(dyuti)-kambha(vatāa)-jāta-nmā(kahmā)pāla-*
- 2 *māṭsu divam gatāu || sāvādrī(kshād=Vi)vaśphāra(ṣvān=i)va bhūti-dhatannā(dhāmnā) nāmnā Yasoṣvapa(gra)ha itpu(ty=u)dyā(dā)rah || 2*] Tat=sutō-shita(bhū)n=Mahita-(cha)ndrasva(=cha)ndra-dhāma-nibham nija(ṣv)(jam) || (i) yāvā(n=ā)pāra-*
- 3 *m=akūpūcha(ra)-pārē vyāpāritam yaśah || 3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-airu(ka)-va(ra)-sikalā krānta-dvishan-malḍa(ḡḍa)ḥ vidhyaast-ōdva(dūha)ta-virō(ra)-yōvi(dha)-śimiva(rah) āri-Chandradēvō nripaḥ || (i) yā-ōdārātara-*

¹ See, e.g., above Vol. IV, pp. 117, 121, 123, 124, 129.

² A grant of Vijayachandra written by the same person was recently copied by us in the Lucknow Museum. This epigraph is being published below along with some other Gāhaḍavāla charters. See pp. 299 ff. below.

³ From impressions. In the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, subscript *y* generally looks like subscript *p*. In the present transcript the sign has been read as *p*. The metres of the verses are not indicated since the stanzas are well known from other records.

* Expressed by symbol.

- 4 prastāpa-sa(śa)mit-śśśśśa-praj-āpadrovam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhivādya(rājya)m=asssa(ma)n= dōrdvi(r-vi)kramā(ḡ=ā)rijitam || [4*] Tirthāni Kśai(āi)-Kum(āi)kā(k-5)ttava(rā)-Kśal-Endrastū(sthā)niyakāni paripā-
- 5 layat=ābhigasya(mya) | hām=ātma-tu[ya]m=anisa(ā)n=dadātā dvijēnyō(bhyō) ā(yē)n= āngi(āci)tā [va]smati sa(śa)ttas=tulābhī || [5*] Tasy=ātma-jō Madanapāla iti kshatindra-chūdāmali(āi)-
- 6 vīri(t=vī)jayatē nija-gōtra-chandrah | yasy=ābhishēka-kales-ōlāsitaḥ payōbhīh pra-kshālitam kati-rajab-[pa]talaḥ dharitryāḥ || [6*] Tasy=śi(s)d=vijaya-prayāla(pā)-samayō tuṅg-ā-
- 7 chal-ōchchais=chalan=mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kraś(ṁ-ā)sama-{bha}ra-bhrasya-mahā-malo-(nda)lē || [7*] chūdā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-gaita-styāḡ(n-ā)stig-ula(d)bhāsitaḥ Śēshah prē-(pē)sha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshaṇam=ssau krōḡ
- 8 vi(nī)lī(n-ā)ta(na)maḥ || [7*] Tasmād=sjāyata ti(nī)-āyata-vā(hā)hu-vallī-vaddhā(bandh-ā)-varuddha-va(na)va-tāgha(rājya)-gajō na(rō)jodrah | sūmīr-āmrīta-drava-muvān(chāō) ga(pra)bhavō gavām yō [Gō]vindava(cha)ndra iti chandra i-
- 9 v=āgdu(mobu)-[rā]jāh(āh) || [8*] Ra(Na) katham=appa(py=a)latpatta(bhanta) rapa-ka-māhiti(kshamāna)=ti[er]uhu dīka(kshu) gajātacha(n=atha) Vaji(jri)maḥ | kakuti(bhi) patra(badhra)mur=Abhramurattata(vallabha)-pakti(prati)-bhaḡ ha(i)va yasya ghatā-gajāḥ || [9*] Pra(A)jani Ri(Vi)-
- 10 ayara(cha)ndrō tātu(nāma) tāhātāratē(smān=narō)ndrah surapatir=ira(va) bhūbhrit-paka-(ksha)-vītā(kshō)pa-damjāh(dukshah) | tvu(bhu)vataḥ(na)-dalata(na)-ha(hā)h-ā-rhmyā-charmya-Habh(vi)lāra-tārā(nārī)-tapata(nayana)-jasa(la)da-sa(dhā)rā-nē(dhau)ta-vūlī(bhūlō)-ka-tāpaḥ || [10*] L10(Lō)-
- 11 sāl(ka)-tray-ākramala(na)-kālī-ritigra(viśvīksha)lāri(nī) praghō(ddyō)ta-sātti(krū)-viri(kavī)-varṇita-dai(vai)bhārāh(vāni) | yasva(oya) [Tri]vikrama-pada-krama-bhāḡi(ōji) bhānni-(nti) prāms(prō)jrimbha)yanti Va(Ba)h-rīja-sa(bha)yaḥ yāśmī(mō)al || [11*]
- 12 Yasti(smīh)s=chalapu(ty-o)dadhi-tō(nē)mi-sa(ma)hī-jay-ārgha(rīham) mādyat-kariedra-tu-(ga)ru-bhāra-ti(nī)pidit-ēva | yāti Prati(Pra)jāsha(pa)ti-padam sa(śa)rapa(p-ār)thini bhūva(s-tva)ngabhu(t-tu)ra(āḡa*)-nira(va)h-ōrtha(tāha)-rajastra(s-chha)lēta(na) || [12*]
- 13 sō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samsāritam(vita)-va(cha)rapah paramaha(bha)ttārabha(ka) mahāra(rā)jādhirāja-paramēvapa(āvara)-paramatahpa(māhōva)ra-ti(nī)stu(bhu)-ōrppāji(pārji)ta-(rī)-Kutpa(nya)kuja(bj-ā)dhīpati(tya)-rī-Vaddha(Chandra)dēva-pā-
- 14 d-ānūdyāta-parana(ma)bhagha(tā)ra-ka-ta(ma)hātā(rā)jāpi(dhi)rīga(ja)-paramēbhya(ēva)-ra-param(ō)(ma)māhēma(ēva)ra-tyō(āi)matma(n-Ma)danapālādēra(va)-pāp(ā-d-3)nu-dhyāta-paramabhātāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 15 ramēra(ēva)ra-paramanā(mā)hēra(ēva)r-ātva(ēva)pati-gajarpāta(pati)-narapati- rūḡātta(ja-tra)y-ādhipati-vividha-rīgha(viḡyā)-rīrā(viḡhā)ra-chara(vācha)spati-śrīmad-Gōvindava-(cha)ndrapē(dē)va-pād-ānūdyāta-
- 16 paramabhagha(tā)ra-ka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēra(ēva)ra-paramamāhētēpē(ēva)r-āchya-(ēva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājara(tray)-ādhipati-vividhavighā(dyā)vivā(chā)ravāva(cha)-spati-āi-
- 17 mad-Vijayava(cha)ndradērō(vō) vijayi || || Saputrāra-pattalāyāh Va(Ba)ḡnā-saha-Kirīhīḡi-grāma-nivāsinō niśvi(khī)la-janapadrā(dā)n-upagatān=api cha

१५ पञ्चविंशतिः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 १६ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 १७ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 १८ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 १९ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २० मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २१ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २२ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २३ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २४ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २५ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः
 २६ मालाः सप्तः अङ्गुलीकः पञ्चकुलः कर्णः पुण्ड्रः कर्णः सप्तः

- 18 rājā(ja)-rājñi-yurātā(varā)ja-mari(utri)-purūhita-pratihāra-senapati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākupā(kṣha-
pa)talika-vi(bhī)śhaś(g-na)miri(tti)k-ātiā(ata)pur(i)ka-dra(dū)ta-kari - turaga-pattan-
ākū(ka)ra-
- 19 bhvāra(sthāna)-gōkul-ādhirākāra(kṣi-ri-pa)raṣhātāmra(n=ā)jāḍa(pasha(ya)ti tāvavapōjibhati'
yarthara(yathā) vidia(ia)m=anu(sta) bhatirati(bhavatām) yuvō(th=ō)parillāri(khī)ta-
grānah(mah) sa-jaya(la) āra(stha)lah sa-tō(lō)-
- 20 ka-lavan(va)g-ākaraḥ sa-tathhyārāraḥ* sa-gajōya(rtt-ōsha)raḥ sa-giri-gahana-ti(ni)dhāvaḥ-
(nsh) sa-saṇḍa(m)dhāḥ-āmra(ma)-vata(na)-sha(vā)ti[kā]-viṭapa-tpa(tri)ṇattani(yūti)-gōda-
(cha)ra-paryantaḥ
- 21 s-ōvāva(rdhv-ādha)ś=chatur-āpā(gā)sa-viṣu(bu)dhāḥ sva-simā-paryata(ata) sivrimsatpa-
viru²-va(dvā)ḍapa(āa)-sa(āa)ta-raacha(sarva)tsurō Bhāta(dra)padō mābhī(ei)
nita-pakshō bha(na)vatpā(myām) tigha(ṭha) Bhō(Sō)-
- 22 sa(ma)-ditō(nō) apka(āka)tō-pi sam 1223 Sāpra(Bhādra)-sudi 9 Sōmō ||³ Singhaptō-
(bathō) savitari ayō(dy=ō)ha śrīmad-vijaya-Vātā(rā)ṇasya(ayām) Gaṇḍāyām snātva
vidhivadō(d-dō)va-muni-
- 23 matutun)ja-tū(bhū)ta-pitri-gaṇā(rh*)=tarppayittā(tvā) timira-pajala-pāṭana-padu(tu)-maha-
tara-varādhivisham⁴=upabhpāy(i)am(dō)patihārālayashara||⁵ tvanagyaryam⁶ pritu(tri-bhu)ra-
- 24 ra(na)-[trā]tur-Vvātu(su)ddōvasva(aya) pūtām(jām) vidhāya prachurā(ra)-pāyasatī(sēna) Havi-
rbhujam [āga]vā(hutvā) mātā-pitrōr-āla(tma)naḥ cha putya(gya)-yasō(āō)-bhivridnaya-
(dihayō) prasādi(asmābhū) grā(gō)kastaruga(rpa-kuā)-lartā(tā)-rta(pā)-
- 25 ma(ta)-vā(ka)stata-ōdaka-pva(pā)rvavām(kam) Sōnabhala⁷-yā(grā)ma-nivāsi-payōvūcharu-
galākābhya⁸ nātā(nā)-gātābhya(bhyō) Vratēna(tya)⁹ śravadrājā arāva[chehā]sanōgha-
tya¹⁰ prāṇ-
- 26 rāt(tō) matnū(tvā) yathādityamāna-tā(bhō)ga-bhāga-vā(ka)ra-sapaliśa¹¹-ra(ya)matti(hi)-
kāva(mha)li-gratati¹²-ti(ni)yat-āh(ni)yata-samasūda-sāttāpāti-[dhi]yittama dāyatati¹³ |

Reverse

- 27 bhārari(bhavanti) rātta(ch-ātra) vō(pau)raṇivā(ka)-āvō(ō)kāl || Gū(Bhū)mim rah(yah)
pratigrihvā(bhū)ti yat-cha bhātini(mim) prayattha(chehā)ti | abhaṇ tan punvā(gya)-
karmāṇu(nu) niyatam sva(sva)rgga-gāti(ni)ṇau || [15*] Saḥ(Śaḥ)kham bhādra-
(dr-ā)saṇam chehā(chā)traḥ

¹ The intended reading is śāhagya-ādīśā.

² Read sa-saṇḍa-ākaraḥ.

³ The intended reading is sūgāyāy-ādīśā.

⁴ The danda are unnecessary.

⁵ Read mahāraṇa-ādīśā-śāhāraṇa.

⁶ Read upastāp-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā.

⁷ The intended reading is sūnabhāra-ādīśā.

⁸ The name is Sūnabhāra in Śānabhāra in the Tārāchāṇḍī inscription.

⁹ The intended reading is sūn-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā.

¹⁰ Read H-ādīśā-ādīśā.

¹¹ Read ā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā.

¹² Read prāṇatara.

¹³ Read prāṇatara.

¹⁴ Read sūn-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā-ādīśā.

- 28 var-ābhya(śvā) vara-vāṇulāḥ(nāḥ) [1*] sūti(bhūmi)-dānasya vi[ś]ti(chihṇāni) phalanā[ra]-
(m-ēta) = Puraṇāra || [14*] Sarvān-ātān-bhāṇināḥ pā[r*]thivēndrān-bhūpō(yō) vāṇ-
(bhūyō) yāchatō Rānara(machāṇi)drāḥ | ānāpō(māyō)-yām
- 29 varura(dharmma)-sūtur-anripālāṇ(nāṇ) kāḷē kāḷē pālānā(ni)yō bhavatbhiḥ(dhbiḥ) || [15*]
Anēdrasē(Anud-vāṇāḥ) parikṣhāṇ yuh kāchinna(n-ni)patir-lhanō(vēt) [1*] tasy-ākarā
kara-lagnō(gnō)-[s]mā sū(sā)anān na ppa(vya)tikramō-
- 30 t || [16*] Ta(Ba)bubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rūjabhiḥ Sagar-ād[i]bhhiḥ [1*] yasā(aya) yusā(aya)
yadā bhūmi bhāsā(=tasya) tasya ra(ta)[d]i phalan(lam) || [17*] Gām-ēkām vērgu(avaruṇa)-
m-ēkarā va(cha) sū(bhū)mār-apy-ēkam-aṅgulāṇ(lam) ||
- 31 haran-narakanātō(m-āpnō)ti yāvad-āhūva(ta)-samplavāṇ(vam) || [18*] Tadāgānāth saha-
bhū(śrō)ṇa āpanā(āsvamē)ḍha phalēna va(cha) [1*] garvā(vām) kōṭi-pralāṇāna ta(bhū)mā-
haritā na supya(sudhya)ti || [19*] Śva(Sva)-dattāḥ para-
- 32 datvām(tām) vā yō harēd-vasūmrarāṇ(dharm) || m vintā(chihā)gāri kymirsūtyā-
(r-bhūtvā) pitribhiḥ saha mā[st]i || [20*] Shapān(chim) varuṇa-va(m)hātā(śrā)ṇi qmā-
(eva)rggē vasati bhūmidah [1*] śchebhētā(tā) vānata(ch-ānoma)utā va(cha)
- 33 tā[ny-ā]va narakē vasōta(sēt) || [21*] Vāri(ri)hīnēsh-aranayāva(nyēdha) sukna(sudhka)-
kōṭara-vāsitah(nāḥ) | kṛima(āḥṇa)arppā-cha jāyanti va(yō) va(cha) rahna(brahma)-
eva-hūrinah || [22*] Vā[n-ī]ḥa dattā[ni] purā na-
- 34 rēndrair-dānāni dharm-ārtha-yatnaka(ka)rāli(ni) [1*] nirmānāya(īya)-(vāṇta)-pratimāni
tāni kō tā(nā)ma vātuh(sādhub) vu(pu)nar-ādavō(d)ita || [23*] Vāṇāra(t-ābhū)-vi-
bhramam-īdam rabhurāri(vasudh-ādhi)patya-
- 35 m-āpāta-mātra-mādhurā viśay-ōpasō(bhō)gāḥ [1*] grātō(prāṇā)=trīn-āpa(ga)-jāla-vi(bi)-
ndu-samō ta(na)rūpāni dharmah(rimāḥ) sakhā parana(m-a)hō parala[ś]ka-yūtō(nō)
|| [24*] ||
- 36 ūkhitah vāksham(ch-ēdam) tāpra(mra)kaḥ sa(ma)hākshapaṭalika-glo(takka)ra-ār-
śepatikēn-āti || ||

* Read *hārā* for *hārā*.

* Read *para*.

* The engraver made here what was supposed to be the floral design found on the Clāṇa-javāla plates.

No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.1.1961)

We have referred above to our plan to make a search for inscriptions in the Telugu-, Kannada- and Marāṭhī-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State.¹ The results have been encouraging. Two inscriptions copied in the course of the said search, viz. (1) Warangal inscription of Raghudēva and (2) fragmentary Rāshtrakūta inscription from Kandhār, have already been edited above.² Two other inscriptions of the same collection are published in the following pages. Both these epigraphs come from the Nanded District, Bombay State.

1. Hottal Inscription of the time of Chālukya Sōmēśvara

The village of **Hottal** (or **Hottul**) is five miles from the headquarters of the Deglur Taluk of the Nanded District. In the year 1959, we learnt from Shri Manohar Rao Deshmukh of the said village of the existence of a rectangular stone pillar with an inscription lying near a dilapidated temple at Hottal. The village abounds in ruined structures, two temples amongst them being specimens of beautiful architecture with sculptures of good workmanship, the parallel of which is not to be found elsewhere in the Nanded District. Unfortunately the temples are in a ruined condition, wild vegetation and lack of care contributing to their gradual destruction.

The inscribed pillar referred to above lies near one of the said temples. It measures approximately five feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in breadth and one foot and a quarter inch in depth. Shri Manohar Rao informs us that the inscription was copied a few years back by Shri Polnerkar of the Archaeological Department of the former Hyderabad State.

The record is incised on two sides of the pillar. Individual letters on the first side are bigger in size (about 8 inch) than those on the second (about 6 inch). As the first side of the inscription was exposed to the sun and rains, its writing is damaged in some places while, in three places about the middle, some letters are completely rubbed off. The writing on the second side is better preserved. There are altogether 135 lines of writing. Above the beginning of the inscription, the figures of the sun, the crescent, a recumbent bull, a cow with calf and a Śiva-līnga are engraved in relief. This fact indicates the Śaivite character of the epigraph.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and its language is Sanskrit. Excepting the salutation to the god Śiva at the beginning and two passages in the last line, the whole text is written in verse. There are 43 stanzas in all and they are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be noted that some consonants have sometimes been reduplicated in the association of *r*. Final *m* at the end of a verse or half verse has invariably been changed wrongly to *anuvāsa*, but it occurs in the last word of the record. There are a few cases of wrong *śandhi*.

The inscription is undated, though it mentions the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara as ruling at Kalyāṇa. There were, however, four Later Chālukya kings bearing that name, viz. Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.), Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Sōmēśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) and

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff.; Vol. XXXV, pp. 105 ff.

Sōmśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.). As will be seen below, it is difficult to say which of these Sōmśvaras is mentioned in our record, though the possibility is that he was Sōmśvara I or Sōmśvara II. Thus the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. It is stated in verse 37 that the record was caused to be written out by a local ruler at midday in the month of Kārttika when the *tithi* was *rākā* (full-moon) and the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. But no year is mentioned.

The inscription opens with the expression *Om nama(ḥ) Śivāya* which is followed by a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Śiva. Verses 2-3 describe Mount Kailāsa, which is in the Himalayas, while verse 4 mentions the hermitage of Agastya which was apparently situated in the valley of the Kailāsa and is stated to have been resounding with the chanting of the Vedic hymns by young ascetics at prescribed hours. Verse 5 mentions the austere penance of Agastya in that hermitage. Verses 6-11 describe the birth of a hero who was the progenitor of 'the family or race of Fire' (*kula* of Pāṇḍa, Vahni or Agni). We are told how Agastya's Kāmadhēnu (i.e. wish-fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers (verse 6) and how the sage offered in a great rage an oblation to the blazing fire without uttering a curse (verse 7). The result was the birth of a great hero from Agastya's fire-pit (verse 8), who after having killed those rulers, brought back the *Adva-dhēnu* to the sage as if it were the sage's *mānu-siddhi* (i.e. 'the restoration of prestige') incarnate (verse 9). By his prowess, 'the son of Fire' became a powerful ruler after having conquered enemies in the three worlds and helped Indra by uprooting the demons (verse 10). According to verse 11, this hero became known as *Munimānasiddhi* (literally, 'the restorer of the sage's prestige'). The latter half of verse 11 and the following stanza (verse 12) introduce a ruler named Dhōrarāja (Dhruvarāja) as an ornament of the 'Fire family' which is represented as the third dynasty, the celebrated solar and lunar races probably being the other two. The second half of verse 13 is damaged and its purport is difficult to determine, though reference is made in its first half to *Munja* and *Tailśvara* who are no doubt the famous Vākpati Muṇja (973-96 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty and Taila or Tailapa II (973-97 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family, and to the *kośa* (probably, 'army') of the said two *chakravartins* (i.e. imperial rulers). Dhōrarāja was thus a contemporary of the said kings who flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century. There was a long-drawn struggle between the Paramāra and Later Chālukya kings, which seems to be vaguely indicated in the singular used in the expression *śri-Munja-Tailśvara* as in *nāi-nakulam*, though what part Dhōrarāja played in the struggle is not possible to guess from the incomplete nature of the stanza. The second half of the verse seems to mention one Gōpāla whose relationship with Dhōrarāja is unascertainable from the damaged text. Verse 14 introduces another member of the 'Fire race', whose name was Uttama. The language seems to suggest that he was the son of Dhōra, although it is difficult to be sure on this point because of the mention of Gōpāla in the previous stanza. Verse 15 introduces Uttama's son Kalichōra (I) who was succeeded by his son Argadēva according to verse 16. The next eight stanzas (verse 17-24) describe Argadēva's valour and his achievements on the battle-fields. Verse 21 says that, owing to the fame of the Kshatriya hero (i.e. Argadēva) spreading everywhere, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇa*, and the *Ākhyāyikās* were all forgotten.

Verse 24 is the last stanza on the first side. Verse 25 is engraved on the second side of the pillar, the first three lines of which are considerably damaged. Verses 25-26 appear to introduce Kalichōra (II), a devotee of Hara (Śiva). But whether Kalichōra was just another name of Argadēva cannot be determined from the damaged text of verse 25 which may have contained a word meaning 'son' so that Kalichōra II would be the son and successor of Argadēva. The description of the 'Fire family' ends with verse 27 which continues to describe the glory of Kalichōra II. This stanza represents the chief as the ruler of twenty thousand villages.

Verse 28 introduces a Vaisya named Siddhugi who was a friend of the king, apparently meaning Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race'. In the following stanzas (verses 29-32), Siddhugi is highly praised for his noble qualities. Verse 31 compares him to Nāgārjuna, Karṇa, Vikrama (i.e. king Vikramāditya), Śibi and Vairōchani (i.e. Bali). Verse 33 states that Siddhugi installed Lord Sthānu (Śiva, i.e. a Śiva-līṅga) at Kalyāṇa which was the capital (*pura*) of king Sōmēśvara, the moon of the Chālukya family (*Chālukya-chandra*). Then the king is stated to have donated a *nishka* and a *drama* from every village and town for [the worship of] the said god in the presence of 'the preceptor' Chandrarāhi (verse 34). This seems to refer to the ratification, by the Chālukya monarch, of a grant actually made by one of his provincial rulers as indicated later in the record. The Śaiva ascetic Chandrarāhi, who was the preceptor of Sōmēśvara or of the provincial ruler, appears to have requested the Chālukya king for the ratification. Of course, the language may also be so interpreted as to suggest that it was the semi-independent local chief of the 'Fire family', who made the grant without reference to the Chālukya king. But the first alternative is more likely since that would easily explain why such a big grant was made for the maintenance of a temple at the capital of another king. That the chiefs of the 'Fire race' were the feudatories of the Later Chālukyas is known from the Karaḍhīli inscriptions referred to below.

Verse 35 states that, as long as the members of the 'Fire family' (*Pāvaka-santati*) and the god Siddhēśvara, made by Siddhugi, would flourish on this earth, for that length of time covering a thousand *kalpas*, the arrangement regarding a *drama* together with a *nishka* from each of a thousand villages was made by king Raibhēya after creating the *śilā*, i.e. after causing the *prastāvi* to be written on the stone. Verse 36 again speaks of the same arrangement made for the god Siddhēśvara by the ruler of the territory of Yerga (*śrī-Yergadhātīpati*) in respect of a *drama* and a *nishka* from every town, etc., in the district (*vishaya*, i.e. the Yerga district). If Kalichōra II is regarded as identical with Arga and not as the latter's son, the expression *Yerga-dhātīpati* may possibly also mean 'king Yerga' (i.e. Arga). But it appears better to take Yerga mentioned here as a geographical name because there is actually a locality called Yergi near Hōttal. It has also to be noticed that the 'Fire race' chief's territory consisted of twenty thousand villages and the gift concerned only one thousand villages probably comprised in one of the districts in his territory. It is thus expected that the name of the particular district should be mentioned in the record.

This section thus suggests that Raibhēya belonging to the 'Fire race' was the governor of the Yerga *vishaya* under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. There is also little doubt that Raibhēya (literally, 'the son of Rēbha or Rōbhā') was the same as Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who, as we have seen above, was either the son of Argadēva or Arga himself. If he was identical with Argadēva, we can assume that Rēbha was another name of Kalichōra I. In case, however, he was Argadēva's son, his mother's name may have been Rōbhā. It may be mentioned in this connection that Rōbhēśvara, referred to in verse 37 below, was apparently named after the same Rēbha or Rōbhā. If the expression *guru-maṭha* in the verse referring to the Rōbhēśvara temple is understood in the sense of 'one's father's temple,' we can say that Rēbha was the name of Raibhēya's father. But the expression may also suggest that the temple in question was built by the *guru* Chandrarāhi.

According to verse 37, the epigraph was caused to be made by the ruler (i.e. Raibhēya alias Kalichōra II) out of devotion to and for the worship of the god Siddhēśvara while he was listening to an auspicious tale narrated by a *śrīśāsthi* in [the temple of the god] Rōbhēśvara, which was the *guru-maṭha*, when the sun was in the meridian (i.e. at midday), the month was Kārttika, the tithi Pūrṇimā and the *nakṣatra* Kṛtikā. It is not impossible that the *śrīśāsthi* referred to is no other than the Vaisya Siddhugi and the auspicious tale is the news of the ratification of Raibhēya's grant by Sōmēśvara.

The above analysis would suggest that the grant of a *nishka* and a *dramma* out of the revenue income of each one of the one thousand villages in the Yerga district was made by Raibhōya alias Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who was ruling over the said territory, and that the gift was ratified by his overlord, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. It also suggests that the Yerga *vishaya* consisted of one thousand villages (that is to say that it was called Yerga-1000) and that the gift consisted of one thousand *nishkas* and one thousand *drammās*. Of these two coins, *nishka* was a gold coin sometimes also called *gadgāḍa*, *varāha*, *hara* or *pagūda*, while *dramma* was a silver coin often called *gadgāḍa* (silver), etc., and was sometimes regarded as equal to one-sixteenth of a gold *nishka*.

Verse 38, which is composed in adoration of the god Śiva, states that Nārāyaṇa, Bāna, Rāvaṇa and the old sages like Dadhīcā are respected in the world because they were devoted to the *Śiva-śāstra* (mandates of Śiva) while Nigalaṅkamalla was a great devotee of Chandīvara (i.e. Śiva) in the Kālī age. This verse suggests that Raibhōya alias Kalichōra II was also known by the name Nigalaṅkamalla. In the next stanza (verse 39), the name is given again as Raibhōya instead of Nigalaṅkamalla and it is said that, having his hand, the wish-fulfilling jewel (*chintāmaṇi*) tortures the desire of removing the worries of the poor. Verse 40 says that the ten heads of Rāvaṇa are praiseworthy because they offered themselves to Śiva; praiseworthy is also Hari because he adopted the form of Gauṛī (as Mōhinī); but king Nigalaṅkamalla is undoubtedly a third Śiva besides the two (i.e. Rāvaṇa and Hari). The next stanza (verse 41) is one of the usual imprecatory verses. Verse 42 states that the dead kings live either through poetical works or through stories and, as such works are composed by poets, the poet is the friend of the king. Verse 43, which is the last stanza in the epigraph, expresses some pious wishes as in the case with the concluding stanza (*Bharata-nāṭya*) in classical Sanskrit dramas. The following passage in prose states that the epigraph was written by a scribe named Lakeṣmaṇa.

The *Bharatanāṭya*-like stanza (verse 43) may be translated into English as follows: "Let the Brāhmaṇas mark the earth with sacrificial posts on auspicious occasions; let the kings, steadfast in their own religious principles, protect all the world; let the cattle live happily; let the people be happy, [and] let there be no rise of the wicked; let the poets be honoured in the world [and also] the well-reputed courtesans who have acquired eminence in dancing." The reference to the dancing girls in the concluding part of the stanza is interesting as it seems to allude to the *Dēvadāsīs*, a number of whom may have been dedicated to the temple in question. It is well known that the dancing girls (*Dēvadāsīs*) represented a permanent feature of the big Brāhmanical temples of the early medieval period. Recently we have noticed that the Buddha shrines in the Buddhist monastic establishments of the same age, at least in Eastern India, were also not free from the *Dēvadāsīs*.¹

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the existence of a 'Fire family' ruling in the eleventh century A.D. in the Nanded region apparently forming parts of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The origin of the family as given in the record was the fire-pit of the sage Agastya on Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas. Munimānasiddhi, who was the progenitor of this family, sprang from the fire-pit as a result of an offering of oblation by the angry sage whose cow providing milk for his daily sacrifice had been stolen by certain robbers; he killed the robbers and brought back the cow to the sage. This story closely resembles that of the fire-pit origin of the Paramāras, which first occurs in their inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.² In the Paramāra epigraphs as also in the *Navasāhasāṅkashurita*

¹ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 272.

² Ray, *DHMI*, Vol. II, p. 241. (C. Alagar, *Ancient India*, etc., Vol. II, 1941, pp. 881 ff.)

by Padmagupta, it is stated that, from the fire-pit of Vasishtha on Mount Arbuda (Ābu), there sprang up a hero as the result of an offering of the angry sage whose 'wish-granting cow' was carried away by king Viśvāmitra. The fire-born hero, who was the progenitor of the Paramāra family, wrested the cow from Viśvāmitra and brought it back to Vasishtha who was highly pleased and, having given him the name Paramāra (literally 'the slayer of enemies'), made him the paramount ruler of the earth. The basis of 'the Fire family' story in our record appears to have been the same as that of the origin of the Paramāras, though here the sage is Agastya in the place of Vasishtha and the place is not Mount Abu but the Kailāsa. The author of the present *prashasti* thought it fit to connect the name of Agastya, famous in legends as one who first went to the South beyond the Vindhya and settled there for the rest of his life, with the origin of a South Indian ruling family. But it is difficult to understand why Agastya's fire-pit has not been located in South India.

The 'Fire race' of our record is not known from published epigraphs. But two inscriptions¹ of the same family were copied by us in 1959 from a pillar in the village of Karaḍkhēl about 6 miles from Hottal, the findspot of the present record. Both these inscriptions are in Kannada and belong to the time of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). The first of them gives the genealogy of the Chālukya kings upto Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and of the chiefs of the 'Fire race', who were apparently feudatories of the former, and mentions Karka of the said family as the builder of the temple of Sōmēśvara at Karaḍikal (modern Karaḍkhēl). The second record, dated December 1, 1079 A.D., mentions the same Karka as a *Mahā-maṇḍalīśvara* granting lands for the worship of several gods, viz. Svayambhū Sōmanāthadēva, Dōrēśvaradēva, Kalichōrēśvaradēva and Prasannabhairavadēva, for the repairs of the temples of the said gods and for feeding Brāhmaṇa students. Karka himself is stated in the record to have built many temples. It is interesting to note that the gods Dōrēśvaradēva and Kalichōrēśvaradēva bear the names of the chiefs Dōra and Kalichōra of the 'Fire family', who were apparently the ancestors of Karka. In the genealogy given in our epigraph, Dōra appears as Dhōrarāja and Kalichōra (I) probably as his son; but Karka has not been mentioned at all. Thus the relations between Karka of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions and the members of the 'Fire race', responsible for setting up the Hottal *prashasti*, cannot be determined. But the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions show that the chiefs of the 'Fire family' were the subordinates of the Later Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa and that they were ruling over the territory including the area around modern Karaḍkhēl and Hottal, probably called 'the Yerga district' or 'Yerga-1000' in our epigraph. The entire territory of the 'Fire race' chiefs, stated to have consisted of twenty thousand villages, probably contained several *richayas* like Yerga.

As indicated above, the identification of the Later Chālukya king mentioned in our record is not easy. We have seen that the first ruler of the 'Fire race', viz. Dhōra, was a contemporary of Taila II (973-97 A.D.) as well as of Paramāra Muṣja (973-96 A.D.), while the same king as well as Kalichōra I apparently flourished before 1079 A.D. as is evidenced by the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI. If Dhōra was succeeded by his son Uttama and Uttama by his son Kalichōra I, this last king may have ruled about the middle of the eleventh century. If therefore Arga, son of Kalichōra I, was the same as Kalichōra II alias Raihbēya Nigalaśkamalla, who was responsible for setting up the Hottal inscription, he may be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.) or Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.). If, however, Kalichōra II was the son and successor of Arga, he may at best be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara III (1126-36

¹ See A. B. Ep., 1958-59, Nos. B 184, 187.

A.D.). It is difficult to think of Sōmēśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.) in this connection since he flourished long after 1079 A.D., the date of one of the Karaṅkhēl inscriptions. It is also not easy to say whether Arga of our inscription is the same as Karka of the Karaṅkhēl inscriptions.

A question that may be asked in this connection is that, if the god Sthāpa (i.e. Śiva) called Siddhēśvara, was installed by Siddhugi at Kalyāṇa, why was the pillar bearing the *prastāvi* recording a gift in honour of that god set up in the village of Hoṭṭal. The answer seems to be that, since the gift made by Kalichōra II alias Raibhōya alias Nūlāśakamalla, the ruler of the territory around the Yerga district, was a part of the revenue of the said district, the record could have been set up at the head quarters of that district, although another copy of the same inscription appears to have been set up in the temple itself at Kalyāṇa. If such was the case, Hoṭṭal or a city of which it formed a part or suburb was probably the head quarters of the Yerga *viśaya* and the capital of the rulers of the 'Fire family'. We have seen that the *Vaiśya* Siddhugi, the hero of our *prastāvi* who installed the god Siddhēśvara named after himself in a temple at Kalyāṇa, was a friend of Kalichōra II of the said family. Siddhugi may have been an inhabitant of the Hoṭṭal area.

It is tempting to identify the hero of our *prastāvi* with Siddhugi, also called Basuvarasa, Siddayya, occurring in another epigraph¹ dated the 9th December 1184 A. D., hailing from Lakṣmī in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District and belonging to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. If this identification is accepted, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara mentioned in our inscription has no doubt to be identified with Sōmēśvara IV. But, as already indicated above, this is highly improbable.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, Kalyāṇa is the same as modern Kalyan in the Bidar District of Mysore, Yerga seems to be the district around the village of Yergī, 3 miles from Hoṭṭal.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4, 10, 12-13, 15-18, 21, 24, 26-27, 30-31, 35-40, 43 *Sārdulavīrīdita*; verses 3, 7-8, 19, 25 *Stagdhārā*; verses 5, 22, 28, 32 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 9, 14 *Mandākrāntā*; verse 6 *Sūgūṭā*; verses 11, 23, 45 *Indravajrā*; verses 20, 29 *Upajāti*; verses 33-34, 41 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Side

- 1 || Ōm namaḥ śivāya || Tā vaḥ pāṁtu Pinākinah katipayā krodhāya bhālastha-
- 2 || jaumānaḥ kiray-āval-stava(ha)kit-ākāśā, kriśānāḥ kapāḥ | yā-
- 3 || śhām-śkatamasya tējasi jagaj-jālam jigābō ripōḥ³ samdhānōpi patat-
- 4 || go-pātam-apatat-Puṣpīpāyudhaḥ a-āyudhaḥ || 1 || Kailāśō-sti samasta-
- 5 || parvata-patir-yah samīrayaḥ śrēyaśām yad dēvāḥ samupāsatē Suragiri-ryā-
- 6 || n-ālpā-dhārāḥ kṛitah | yasmāi svasti vadaṁtī siddha-munayaḥ siddhār-ṇi-
- 7 || dhānāḥ yataḥ śmā yasya na vidyātē kṛitadhīyām yatra stavō vāsta-
- 8 || vaḥ || 2 || Ścinṇagair-ālingit-ā(r)kaḥ pravīrata-kutak-ākāśānta-nā[n]jā-dig-antah sō-sti

¹ H.N. No. 46 of 1925-27. We are indebted to Mr. S. H. Risti for the reference.

² From impressions. We are indebted for some suggestions to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyan.

³ Possibly jigāśā ripōḥ is intended.

- 9 svēchchā-nivāsa=tridaśa-trigadriśā[^h]* Minakētōś-cha bhāmīṭ [i*] prāptuḥ ratu-
ākaraṭvaṃ
- 10 panarā(r-i)va vilasat-ratna-sarvvasva-sārē sphārē yasy-ūpakarṭhē luthatī jalā-
- 11 nidhūr=[vvaṃ]jarā]*-vyājam-ētya || 3 || Vi(Bi)bhrūgasya tapō-vibhūtim-asamā-
- 12 m-āstē hy-Agaṭy-ākhyayā vikhyātasya mahāmūṣh śamavatām savyasya
- 13 te[tr-ā]jaramāḥ | yasmīn-yāmika-nāḍavan-muni-vaṭu-svādhyāya-pāṭha-dhvanīḥ
- 14 prōdhhāśī kali-kūla-tasaka-timaskārāya sannahyati || 4 || [Ta]juni-
- 15 n-muhūḥ prahuta-pāvaka-dhūma-rāji-sphāribhavad-vitapi-pālāra-mēchak-anḡhaḥ[ghō] |
pūy-ōṭa-
- 16 j-ā[grā]-ghaṭamāna-curiga[ghō] kadōchit-tēpō tapāmsi sa śam-aika-dhanō munīndrah || 5 ||
- 17 Uamārgōṇa prasahham=avanīvalībhāḥ paryajantō na prōkhamtō trutad=api yaśaḥ sva-
chchha-
- 18 hāra-prakāraś(ram) [i*] yat=tasy-āpi prachurn-tapasām-agragayasya pūyām pāp-āchā-
[rāś]=tvari-
- 19 tam-ahataś=bōmadā[ⁿ]* Kāmadhēnub(num) || 6 || Aṃtaḥ samchintya kīncit-tad-anu-
sa virataḥ ā-
- 20 pa-dānān=munīndrah sāmādrībhūtam dadhānāḥ sphurad-adhara-ruchā krōdha-valnār-iva
ārchchih |
- 21 pratyarthya-utpāta-ketu-pravibhava-vilasat-dhūma-dhūm-ānuva(ba)ddha-sphūrjja-jvālā-
kalā-
- 22 pē hutabhujī hutavān-āhutiṃ hūm-vimīrām(īrām) || 7 || Bhāvat-tōjah-kaṭaprait²-iva
- 23 sha(pa)righaṭitas-tāra-hār-ānukāri-pratyagra-vra(bra)hmasūtras=Tridaśagiri-iva Svargana-
- 24 dyā sanāthah | vi(bi)bhrūgaḥ svarṇa-mū(tū)gā-yugalam-atha punān kō-pi chaṣṭ-āgni-
- 25 kumjāt-kōdamā-ākāśa-ābhjō-rava-jamita-jagad-bhūti-āvirva(rba)bhūva || 8 || Patri-
- 26 bhīḥ na bhuvana-traya-vīraś-tā[n*] nripā[^h]*-cha sakalā[n-vinihatya] [i*]hōma-gām-
upanid-
- 27 ya tatō-smai māna-siddhim-iva mūrtti[ma]— —³ || 9 || Dūr-ātsārīta-kubja-
- 28 ka-vyatīkarām-ākāṣhagavīrah kramād-gō — — v pa-līlay=aiṇa sakalā-
- 29 m-ākramya lōka-trayīḥ[ghm] | sāmā[^h]*yam vijaya — — bhuvanā khyātah kri-
- 30 sāmāḥ sutah Śakraś-āpi sahāyatām prakatayann=utpātya dōva-dvishah || 10 ||
- 31 [Satyam]tatō-bhūd-iha tasya nāma vīraśya lōkō **Munimānasiddhīḥ** | tasmā[t*]-trītyō-
bha-
- 32 vad-āśha vathō vāri-pratāp-ānala-kāla-mēghah || 11 || Valnēr-vvaṃśam-alāchchakāra śa-
- 33 taśah krūr-āśi-dhār-āhati-krīḷā-dārīta-vāri-kumjara-tatīḥ śrī-Dhōrarā-
- 34 jō nripah | yasy-ādy-āpi Himādri-Śarīkaragiri-Kaṣṭhānu(ba)rāśi-chchhalād-āstō di-
- 35 g-valayāśhu punjītam-iva svētāśm-gaurah yaśah || 12 || Yēn-āchchchidya samastā-
- 36 pāṭhiva-kulam prāp-ādhibah tad-yaśah[^h]* jagrah-ōbha[ya-chakravartti-kaṭa]kō śrī-
- 37 **Munja-Tailēśvarē** | yad-vā — — — — — rakshita — — — — — aṣṭyā[aya]-

* Possibly *bandhū* is intended.* The intended reading was probably *kalāpā*.* The intended reading may have been *mūrtimāśa śam*.* Read *gū-cō*.

- 38 n Gōpālāḥ kaṣakastha— — — — — nach-chhāsanaṁ(nam) || 13 || Kaḥōḥ-chakr-ākra-
- 39 maṇa-nipuṇ-ōddamaḥ-dōr-ddamaḥ— — [111a]-bhagna-pratibhaṣa-nripa-prēyaś-kēli-
- 40 lāsah | kaḥrām(bhō)dhār-iva sunanaśm-ārayah pārijātō jātā-tamā-
- 41 d-Yama iva parah(rā)-kṣmābhṛitām-Uttern-ākhyah || 14 || Tasmāch-chhri-Kalichōra-bhūpatir-abbūd-uḥchamāḥja-
- 42 kaṇṭhīrava-kriḍā-pīṭa-śātra-mūdhura-ghataḥ kṣmāpāla-mūlanakṣah | pīt-ānēka-ja-
- 43 lāsah(kalyaṇ) pratikalām yat-sanya-jāta-śtkarair-mūhēśah(b*) kakubhō marut-ethala-bhuvān sa-vra(bra)-
- 44 hmaḥārīkṛitāḥ || 15 || Mūrtiś-śra-cuśah samāśrita iva kṣmāpāla-dāv-ānalah sam-
- 45 jātah pīṭhu-dīrgha-vā(bā)hu-parigha-vyūḥhō-rgadāvas-tataḥ | chakrō śātra-kavaḥ(baṁ)-dha-tāmdava-vidhōv-u-
- 46 ddamaḥ-āchāryakam jyē-ōda-prakāṭikṛit-ōgra-pataha-dhvanō(nāir)-yadīyam dhanuḥ || 16 || Yāt-kha-
- 47 tgaḥ(dgaḥ) samar-āṁgaḥ rīpu-śārah-śrēṇīḥ samāśdayann-aśhi-granṭhi-vibhēdakaḥ kha-yad-iti
- 48 dhvānēna nūnam dvishō(m*) | bhūr-lōkam tyajata prayāta cha divaṁ svat-lōka-rāmā-janaḥ sahlhō-
- 49 gam bhajata prayachchata yaśō vyābhāṣat-ēti śrutau || 17 || Chakshur-mugdha-marīcha(chi) vōsha-vikalāḥ
- 50 kāyō maṇō vyākulaḥ bhraṣyaṁti smṛitayah skhalasṛti cha girō naśyaṁti sarvā dīśah | yasmāir-yi-
- 51 krama-bhūji rājanī milat-saṁgrāma-bhūman bhīṣaḥ kva aśasīryaḥ kva bhujau kva vīrya-garimā kv-ī-
- 52 tmā punah kṣmābhṛitām(tām) || 18 || Garjja-jīmūta-mūrti-prabala-rīpu-va(ba)l-ājan bi bhūpēna yē-
- 53 na māyā-nirmāṇa-karma-pratīkṛiti-vikṛit-ānēka-nēpathya-bhāmji | cātri-peṇa-pra-
- 54 yāṇa-pravaṇa-nipuṇyā khadga-vaśṭyā sthīt-pī* prūta-prōt-āṁtra-tanūtrī-nīraya-richari-
- 55 tāny-āu rakṣāṁsi yēna || 19 || Śaigilham svakīyam priya-bhāṣaṇam cha maṇō-bhīrāmē
- 56 magi-kumḍalē cha ||*|| yēn-aitad-āu dvishad-aṁganānām-ugōcharaṁ śrōtra-yugmaya chakrē
- 57 || 20 || Bhagnā Bhārata-bhāratā vigalitō Rīmāyaṇ-ōpakramah śrūṇā jīroṇa-purā-
- 58 ṇa-paddhatir-itō n-ākhyāyikānām gatī | praty-ānam prajamandalarō prati-puraṁ praty-ānam
- 59 praty-agaṁ tasya kahatriya-puṅgavaṣya yaśasā trailōkyam-ōpūritam(tam) || 21 || Anyaḥ samāna-guṇam-a-
- 60 sya nripasya kaṇṭhī(chiḥ-) drashtuḥ vikṛiṣṭa-hṛiday-ōva kutūhalēna (|*) kīrttiḥ parā prathama-kōṭaka-rē-
- 61 pu-śubhā lōka-trayaḥ bhramatī sahitatam-āram-sīva || 22 || Yasy-ābhavad-vyākaraṇam pramāṇam
- 62 rājyē prajā-ratjana-tatparasya | chōra-dhvanēr-dārūpa-kūrapasya anayatra chitrō yadi vā-prachā-

* The intended reading may be sthītā.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

1. Hottal Inscription of Chalukya Sômesvara



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64

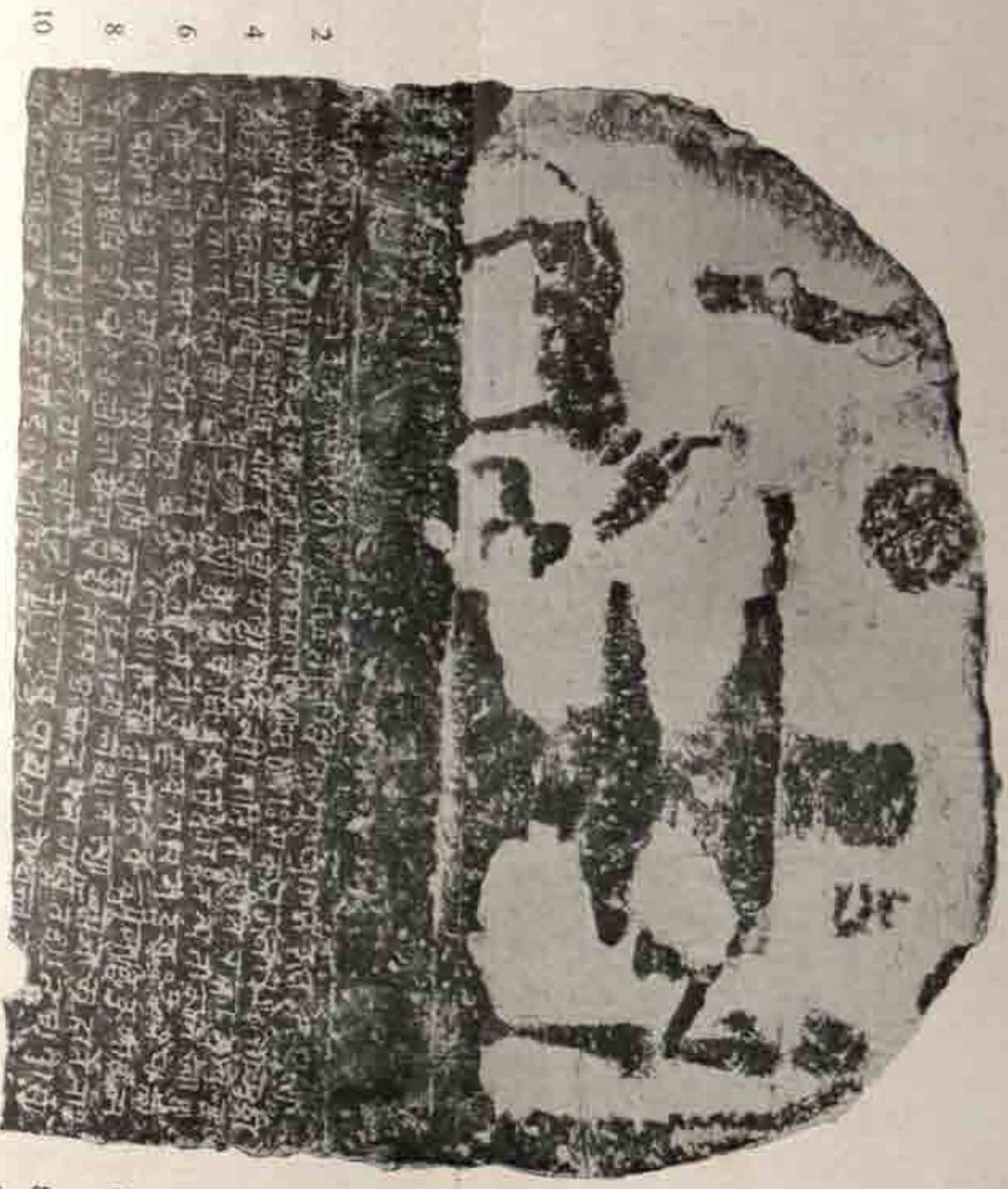
2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64



66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106 108 110 112 114 116 118 120 122 124

66 68 70 72 74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 100 102 104 106 108 110 112 114 116 118 120 122 124

2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhaipur



- 63 [ra] [33] Bhūc bhidyēta sur-ālayōpi tatādā śryēta śryēta cha vṛa(tra)hmābhāṣa
[mā]ya-
64 =u[gra]-kīraṣā śuśyāyur-śāśhōdhayaḥ | [vāc-śūtur]-na hī [bh]idyatē pu — — — —
65 pṛ-asti cha^{*} Arg-ākhyasaya mahāpatēḥ punar-italy aṣṭayā[te] [vī]k[ra]mah [24]

Second Side

- 66 Pūjyānāṁ pa — — — — — śubhaṭa-parishadām(dī)m-arthināṁ [ka] — — — — — māya
67 śinuh para-yuvati[anasy-ārtta-citra[pra]ṣya tātāḥ | sa — — — — — vyō-yaṁ Hara-
68 charaṇa-rajō-rīṣi-rajyaḥ chharitō [yō] [ā-śāha-[yuk]tāḥ] prasāham-ari-
69 va(ba)[h]e ch-uka-vīraḥ pinashtī | 25 || Rājyaṁ nī[ḥ]^{*} śrīta-kṣitakāḥ pratibhātāḥ
70 śūnyō(nyā) chātāmō dīśā āśhāḥ śuśha-pukhī cha naṁdati janō nirvāṇadvam-a-
71 rēṭhalad(lam) [] sarvany-āpi paripatāṁ tad-ābhavāt-ē[yaṁ] prajā-ratnātāḥ bhū-bha-
vātāḥ
72 Kalichōrakasya sakala-kāmāpāḥ chh[ā]māṣāḥ || 26 || Vīṇād-grā-
73 ma-kāṭi-patīḥ katham-ayam vīrō vidhī-prakramāḥ śakyō varṇay-
74 tūḥ prayatna-paṭhitāḥ dēvī-śāhānir-mūḍṛitāḥ | dēvāḥ Padma-guhā-mahā-gī-
75 ha-patīḥ taryō[tra] sūtra-kriyā pūrv-āśhārya-dhuraṁ vī(bh)hastī Bhagavān ya-
76 dy-śha mūśhyāmāḥ []^{*} || 27 || Vāṇō vīśāḥ vīkād-kīrttimatām va(ba)bhūva śrī-Śi-
77 dhugī-matapatē[re]tha tasya mitra[m]^{*} Kāmō Madhūr-iva yathā jaladhā-cha cham-
78 drāḥ āyō śikh-iva hī yathā śikhināḥ payōdāḥ || 28 || Nīchi-
79 ptam-Āśhōjābhavāna lakshmyāḥ sarvasvam-asmīn-iti tarayāmi | kutō-
80 aya vā rāja-paranipar-āyam-ātō nivishṭā sadan-ōpakamthā || 29 ||
81 Svartōkād-āpi dānāśhōka-bhavanād-ā-sapta-sindh-āllasad-vell-āra-ta-
82 rubg[gi]tād-āpi bhavanād-ānēśhya bhūmābhālār | Śk-ākaḥ guru-chārā-sūtra-cha-
83 ritam lōka-grav[ā]bh[ā]pādām Dhātō pātrm-īdātā vichīta-vibhāvāḥ(vai) śrī-
84 Siddhugir-nirmatāḥ || 30 || Kīm Nāgārjuna śha Karuṇa-nripatīḥ
85 kīm v-āvatīrṇyā bhuvī kīm vā Vikrama-bhūpatīḥ Śivī(bā)ṛ-ayam
86 kīm v-ātha Vairōchanīḥ []^{*} ittham bhāntim-ayam janasya janayan-na
87 jūyātō tēḥ kaḥ śrīmat-Siddhugir-ity-āgāt-punar-asau
88 khyātīṁ janō sāmpratam(tam) || 31 || Śēt-Siddhugir-hī yataḥ viji-
89 ā vī(bh)hastī kālūkyan-antar-nām-imdur-ataḥ sāl-miva []^{*} [yō-
90 tāt-patēna pṛithunā svam-asau pūhāya rātraṁ parām pracharati
91 trapay-ēva guptāḥ || 32 || Tēna samsthāpitāḥ Śhāṇāḥ Kalyāṇō guṇinām
92 gūhā | purō Chāṇukya-phaṭṭīrasya Sōmāsvara-mahāpatēḥ || 33 || Śi-
93 śhkaḥ drāṇam cha bhūmīḥ grāmō grāmō purō purō []^{*} dadan tasmā sa dēv-
94 ya Chāṇḍrarāḥ-gurōḥ purāḥ || 34 || Yāvat-Pāvaka-santatir-vijayi-
95 nī dēv-ā-cha Siddhāvērō [yā]vat-Siddhugir-nirmatō vijayātō ka-
96 lṇāḥ(lṇāḥ) sahasrām kshītan | tāvad-grāma-sahasrakō-pi vīhītō drāṇmāḥ sa-ni-
97 śhkaḥ sadā śrī-Ratibhēya-mahābhujā mṛigamad-āmōdēna kṛtvā śi-
98 lām(lām) || 35 || Prithvī tīrtha-pur-āgrahāra-nagara-grāmāir-aśūny-ōdarā yā-

* *Samāhi* has not been observed here.* The intended reading may be *śūnyā*.

made by the farmers, but in vain. There is an old Śiva temple and an old tank attached to it near the field where the slab was found. The figures of the sun, a Śiva-linga, a devotee and a cow with a calf are engraved above the writing of the record under study. These seem to indicate that the fragmentary inscription was meant to record some donation in favour of a temple of Śiva, probably the one at Ardhāpur, referred to above.

The surface of the broken slab bearing the inscription measures approximately one foot three inches by one foot nine and half inches. The record is incomplete, the lower part of the inscribed slab having broken away and lost. There are altogether ten lines of writing though a portion of the ninth line and more than half of line 10 have broken away. Each line contains about twenty-five akṣaras. A verse in the *Varaṇasīlāla* metre, which begins about the end of line 8, suggests that it concluded about the end of line 11, no trace of which now remains. It is not possible to determine the number of lines lost after the extant part of the epigraph. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. It is thus difficult to read the inscription.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. Its language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written entirely in verse. Of palaeographic interest is the letter *l*, in which the left limb is often not joined with the right vertical so that the akṣara looks as if it is endowed with an *ā-mātrā* (cf. *ālā* in line 5; *āpala* in line 7; the last letter in *Valāla* in line 8, etc.), though sometimes it has the usual Southern Nāgarī form (cf. *śakala* in line 2 and the first akṣara in *Lālā* in line 3, etc.). It is interesting to note that the second akṣara in *Lālā* in line 3 has been written in the former form so as to look like having two *ā-mātrās*. Initial *ś* has the usual form written with two dots having a curved stroke below (cf. line 6). *B* has been represented by *v* in some cases. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that consonants after *r* have been occasionally doubled. The words *bhāṣit* and *prāṇi* have been written respectively as *bhāṣāt* (line 3) and *prāṇi* (line 8).

Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, its object cannot be definitely determined. It stops in the middle of the description of a local branch of the Ratta or Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and was probably meant for recording the donations of one of the Ratta chiefs in favour of the Śiva temple at Ardhāpur.

Verses 1-2 of the inscription are in adoration of the god Śiva, though the following stanza (verse 3) extols the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Whether this means that the Ratta family mentioned in the record adored both Śiva and Viṣṇu, like the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas,¹ cannot be determined, because the adoration to Śiva would also be suitable for an inscription which probably recorded a grant in favour of a Śiva temple. It is thus possible to think that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the grant recorded in the inscription seems to have belonged, was specially devoted to the Boar form of Viṣṇu. As, however, will be seen below, one of these Ratta chiefs was devoted to Nāgā and, if the latter was a deity, he was Śiva.

Verse 4 extols the standard of the golden bull (*suvarṇa-vaśabha-dhaja*) which was apparently one of the royal insignia of the family. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had the *pāṇi-dhaja*, *śa-kūṭa* and *Garuḍa-lāṅkā*,² while the Rattas of Saundatti are known to have the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhaja*.³ Among the important ruling families of Kanuḍa origin, the Kalachuris of Lalyāga, who eclipsed Later Chālukya power in the third quarter of the twelfth century, had the *suvarṇa-vaśabha-dhaja*⁴ as the Rattas of our inscription. It is of course difficult to say whether the Rattas of the Ardhāpur region borrowed the

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

No. 22—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUNDARAMAN, OOTYAMUND

(Received on 24.1.1961)

The two inscriptions published here were copied by us in October 1959 at Maihar, headquarters of the former State which now forms a Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.¹ The records are marked as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. **A** is engraved on the pedestal of the goddess Sārādādevī whose temple stands on a hill, while **B** is incised on a slab of stone lying in the same temple. The four lines of writing in **A** cover an area about 15 inches in length and 3½ inches in height, while **B** contains 39 lines engraved on a well-dressed slab of stone having a raised border (about 2 inches wide) on all the four sides. The excavated bed within the borders, which is 34½ inches high and 31 inches broad, was originally meant for engraving the epigraph. Since the space was later found inadequate to incise the whole record, the first and last lines were engraved respectively on the upper and lower borders. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory. Many parts of the inscriptions here and there are rubbed off, though the number of passages, in which the letters are completely lost, are not too many.

Inscription **B**, which is a big *prastāvi*, was noticed by J. D. Beglar, who visited Maihar (spelt by him as Mahiyār) in 1871-72, in Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. VII, p. 51, in the following words: "... to the right of the steps leading upto the chief statue [in the shrine of Dēvi Sārādā] is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather". This description of the record with reference to the state of its preservation is not quite correct.

The characters of both the records belong to the Early Nāgarī alphabet of the tenth century A.D. They, with the top of letters like *p*, *s* and *y* generally closed, very closely resemble the alphabet of such epigraphs as the Pratabgarh inscription² of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla II, dated in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.), though there is a notable difference between the alphabets of the Pratabgarh and Maihar records in the form of the medial *ṣ* sign. While the former indicates the medial *ṣ* by bending the left end of the top *vaṭṭā* of the consonants downwards, the sign in the latter is much longer as in records like the Dharampuri plates³ of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṣṭja, dated in V. S. 1031 (974 A. D.). But such letters as *ṣ* in the Dharampuri plates exhibit a decidedly later form than in the Maihar inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds, the epigraphs under study may be assigned to a date about the middle of the tenth century A.D.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit and they are written in verse. In **A**, we have only one stanza while Inscription **B** contains a versified eulogy with a *maṅgala* in prose at the beginning, the expression *apī cha* occurring twice in between the stanzas and two passages in prose referring to the writer and engraver at the end. In orthography and style also, our inscriptions resemble the Pratabgarh inscription and other contemporary epigraphs. There is no date quoted anywhere in either of the inscriptions.

Inscription **A** contains a single stanza in *Sārdulavikṛita* following a few damaged *akṣaras* at the beginning. It is of course tempting to regard these letters as forming a *maṅgala*. But

¹ Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra copied the inscriptions in 1940 and prepared their transcripts. We are indebted to him for the reading of some words.

² Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 176, Plate facing p. 183.

³ *J. Ind. As.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff., Plate facing p. 51.

the stanza mentions a great scholar who was the very Vyāsa of the Kali age in poetic skill and became an expert in sciences like *vēda*, *nyāya*, *śākhya*, *nīti* and *śāntānā* even when he was a boy and this seems to refer to the young Brāhmaṇa scholar Dāmōdara whose career is described in B at some length. The inscriptions on the pedestals of images generally speak of the installation or dedication of the deities in question. It is therefore strange that the present record merely refers to the person in whose memory the goddess Sārādā (Sarasvatī) was apparently installed in a temple, the construction of which by Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara is mentioned in Inscription B. It is thus possible that the few damaged *akṣaras* at the beginning of A represent the concluding part of another stanza. If such was the case, it has to be surmised that the beginning of this inscription, carved on the image elsewhere, escaped our notice while copying the record. As a matter of fact, the image of the goddess Sārādā is under worship and the priests allowed us to copy the epigraph on the front side of the pedestal of her image after considerable persuasion. Since, moreover, the stanza in *Śāradāraśrīṅgītā* referred to above does not appear to be the concluding part of a record, it is possible to think that Inscription A, though it is followed by marks of punctuation indicating the end of a work or a section, was continued and concluded on the left side.

Inscription B begins with the *maṅgala*: *Śrī sūmatī Sarasvatyai* which is followed by a fairly big *prastāvi* in fifty-one stanzas composed in various metres. Verses 1-2 of the *prastāvi* describe the goddess [Sarasvatī] as identical with Brāhmī, Kamalā and Gauṛī and as installed 'on this peak [of the hill]' and again refer to her abode on the hill. The reference is no doubt to the hill at Maihar, on which the inscribed slab has been found. The following stanza records the author's obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa named Śūgabhadrā whose son, the learned Vūpati, born in the Vatsa *gōtra*, is mentioned in verse 5. The name of the *śākhya* or district where the Brāhmaṇa family flourished is not clear, though it may be Gōvana. The following stanzas mention the descendants of the said Brāhmaṇas: (1) Bhṛigudēva, son of Vūpati (verse 6); (2) Gaṅgādharma born in Vūpati's family (verse 7); (3) Śivādēva-bhaṭṭa whose relationship with Gaṅgādharma is not stated though he may have been a younger brother of the latter (verse 8); (4) Trivikrama, son of Śivādēva-bhaṭṭa (verse 9); and (5) Dēvaprasāda, son of Trivikrama (verses 11-12).

The description of the family in verses 13-19 is difficult to follow. Verse 13 either mentions the younger brother or the two sons of Dēvaprasāda, though no personal name is clear from the extant part of the damaged stanza. It is also difficult to understand whether the description in the following stanzas relates to the younger brother or the younger of the two sons of Dēvaprasāda or some other members of the family were introduced in the section. Verse 20 mentions Dāmōdara, whose description continues in verses 21-23, though it is not clear whether he was the same as the younger brother or son of Dēvaprasāda or was a descendant of either of the latter. But the latter part of the record shows that this Dāmōdara was the son of Dēvadhara whose name therefore must have occurred in the damaged section referred to above probably as the younger brother or as the younger son of Dēvaprasāda.

Verses 24-35 narrate a story relating to the antecedents of Dāmōdara. It is said that he was really the son of the goddess Sarasvatī and was living in Brahma-lōka along with the preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) and that once there was a Śāstric dispute between the two, in which Bṛhaspati was defeated by the young boy (verses 24-26). Being angry at his defeat, the preceptor of the gods cursed the boy to be born on the earth (verse 27). The boy's mother Sarasvatī then appeased Bṛhaspati (verse 28) who consoled the daughter of Brahman (Sarasvatī) by predicting that her young son would be born in a family of pious Brāhmaṇas and would become a great

scholar (verses 29-34). The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Brihaspati's mouth: "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in [the waters of] the sea after having seen **Purushottama in the Odra country.**" The reference here is to the god Purushottama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

Verses 35-40 describe Dāmōdara's career on the earth, the first two stanzas (verses 35-36) stating that, at the time Brihaspati was consoling Sarasvatī in heaven, Dāmōdara was born as the son of Dēvadhara on the earth. It is further stated that, as predicted by the preceptor of the gods, he stayed in his (i.e. his father's) house till he became sixteen years old. The following two stanzas (verses 37-38) state how then Dāmōdara left his parents, friends and relations and, resolving to set out on pilgrimage, reached in due course the sea-shore where he saw the god Purushottama. Verse 40 states that Dāmōdara went back to the world of Brahman where he told the people the story about himself. As indicated by the prediction in verse 35, he must have lost his life while bathing in the waters of the Bay of Bengal near the temple of Purushottama-Jagannātha in Orissa. The next stanza (verse 41) says how his father became greatly mortified at the news of his son's death.

Verses 42-43 introduce a banker named Madhusūdana who was a devotee of the god Madhusūdana (Vishnu-Krishna) and a friend of Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara. He is described as responsible for the building of many temples and other charitable institutions and as a poet and an incarnation of Vajradatta whose identity is uncertain, although he may have been the well-known author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*.¹ Verses 45-46 state how Dēvadhara built a temple for the goddess Sarasvatī in his son's memory while the previous stanza (verse 44) seems to suggest that he received help in that connection from his friend Madhusūdana. The temple referred to is no doubt the one in which the goddess Śīradī of Maihar was originally installed on the hill. Verse 47 says how Dēvadhara left his home and went to the world of Vishnu (i.e. died). It seems that he went to a holy spot with a view to giving up his life.

Verse 48 introduces a Śaiva ascetic named Sāmbhaśambhu whom the following stanza (verse 49) describes as a terror to the Chārvāka school of philosophers and as an adept in the Buddhist and Jain doctrines as well as in the *āgamas* of the Śaivas. From verse 50, we learn that this Sāmbhaśambhu was the author of the *prasaṁsī* under study. Verse 51, with which the eulogy ends, contains the prayer that the goddess (i.e. the image of Sarasvatī or Śīradī now worshipped on the hill at Maihar) may last for ever. The concluding section in line 39 states that the eulogy was written (i.e. written on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) by Bhāva and that its engraver was Nāgaśōva.

The inscription analysed above does not contain information of any importance to the student of the political history of ancient India. Still it is not devoid of interest to the student of Indian literature and cultural history. In the first place, it contains an as yet unknown work of a little known poet named Sāmbhaśambhu, though the composition cannot be regarded as of a high order. Secondly, if Vajradatta mentioned in verse 42 is really identical with the author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, it offers one of the rare instances of the mention of an earlier poet in an epigraphic record. Thirdly, the inscription seems to indicate the popularity of the works of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. The story of Sarasvatī's son having been cursed by Brihaspati in Brahma-lōka and born on the earth reminds us of a similar story told in the first chapter of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* how Sarasvatī herself was cursed by Durrāsas in Brahma-lōka and was compelled to live on the earth (the bank of the river Soṇa) where she was married to a mortal and gave birth to a great scholar.

¹ Vajradatta, author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, flourished at the court of Dēvapīla in the ninth century A.D. (S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 373).

Amongst informations in the text which would interest the student of Indian mythology and religious history, attention may be drawn to the representation of the goddess Sarasvatī as identical with Brāhmi, Kāmalā and Gaṇṇī and also as the daughter of the god Brahman. We know that our goddess of learning is variously represented in Puranic literature as the daughter or wife of Brahman (though Brahman's more well-known wife is Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī) and sometimes also as identical with Durgā, the wife of Śiva, as the wife of Viṣṇu or Manu, and as the daughter of Dakṣa.¹

The reference to Dāmōdara's pilgrimage to Puri is very interesting. As we have seen above,² there is evidence to show that the god Purnachōttama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa was a celebrated deity in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. when Kṛṣṇaṁśra wrote his *Prabodha-chandrodaya* at the court of the Chandōlla king Kirtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.). It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Ōjra has to be identified with the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa.³

TEXT⁴

A

- 1 तो . . .⁵ । वेदे यस्त्वनुराननवचरणदृङ्ग्यायप्रव(व)न्धे परः
- 2 सांख्यध्यातिषु नैपुणं परमगा[न्तीतो] च वाचस्पतिः । मी-
- 3 मांसामु चित्तक्षणः परमाहो वा(वा)ल्येपि सर्व्वज्ञता येनावा-
- 4 पि किमुच्यते कालियुगव्यासः कवित्वं [प्रति]॥०॥

B

[Metres : verses 1, 15, 22, 31, 50 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, verses 2-8, 10, 11, 16-19, 31, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 35-41, 43-47 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 9, 13, 14, 20, 48 *Paśantatilakā* ; verses 28, 33 *Varaṇasī* ; verses 12, 34, 42, 49, 51 *Śrughāṇā*.]

- 1 ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै । या ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी कमलोद्भवस्य कमल [विष्णोश्च वक्षस्थलं]
देहादेर्गिरिशस्य विश्वमहिता गौरी जगद्विभृता । प्रत्यर्वास्थितासांद्रवि-
म्ब(म्ब) ८ ८ - पिष्टातकस्यासकं ?]
- 2 सैवास्मिन्निगारे गिरेर्भगवती नित्यं स्थिता चारुणि ॥१॥* पञ्चैताधिनिवासेन
... . परदेवी च वरदानैकतयरा ॥२॥* सर्व्वविद्यात्मके
देवि न-

¹ See Monier-Williams' *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

² Vol. XXXIII, p. 184 and note 1.

³ See *Direct. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 134 ff.

⁴ From inked impressions.

⁵ The *śārdūla* here appears to represent the concluding part of a stanza.

⁶ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 3 दिष्टे दूरवर्त्तति । व(व)हवववां(व)जोद्धूतो(ते) सरस्वति नमोस्तु ते ॥३॥*]
धर्माचारविदग्धेषु मर्त्येषु धृतिसधसु । वने विषये पुण्ये शोणभद्रे(द्रो)-
तिविधुतः ॥४॥*] तत्सूनुर्व्वपतिर्नाम वे-
- 4 दवेदांगपारगः । वत्सगोत्रे पवित्रेभूत्साक्षादिव पितामहः ॥५॥*] तद्वंशभूषणं भद्रो
भृगुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः । व(व)भूव यशसां पूरैः परिपूरितदिङ्मूखः ॥६॥*]
ततस्तदन्व-
- 5 ये धीरो विध्वस्ताशेषव(व)धनः । गंगाधर इति ख्यातः समभूत्समदर्शनः
॥७॥*] शरीरिणोव पुण्येन भूतैर्न श्रुतिराशिना । शिवदेवभट्टेनातः सान्वयाः
पूर्व्वमाविनः ॥८॥*] त-
- 6 स्माच्च शुभ्रचरितचतुरश्रमूर्त्तिर्मान्यस्त्रिविक्रम इति प्रथितोऽहकोत्तिः । संपादिताधि-
हृदयाभिमतानुरूपः प्रादुर्ब्ब(ब्ब)भूव भुवि कल्पतरोरनूनः ॥९॥*] षट्कर्मा-
- 7 भिरतस्यास्य सर्व्वकामाभिगामिनः । कुलशीलगुणोपेतै स्वकलत्रे सुतोभवत् ॥१०॥*]
समुद्र इव गांभीर्ये गुणे] माणिक्यरोहणः । देवप्रसादनामा[भू] . .
- 8 बाधंसमर्चनात् ॥११॥*] अपि च । रूपे कंदर्पकल्पो वचसि सुरागुरु]र्व्वद-
विद्यासु वेधा व्यासः प्रजाविकाशे गुरुजनविन[ये] नूतनो राम[भद्रः] । सत्ये]
- 9 धर्मस्य सूनुर्निजकुलकुमुदानंददाने च चंद्रश्चारित्र्ये चित्रगुप्तः किमपरमसमः
सज्जनत्वं दाधानः ॥१२॥*] सर्व्वद्विजेषु महितस्तत - ७ - - - ७
- 10 वेश्मनि ७ - प्रतपौरभारः । तस्यानुजः सुजनलोचनपूरुषचंद्रः माक्षादुपेन्द्र इव
लांगलिनो व(व)भूव ॥१३॥*] कात्या विडम्ब(स्व)पति कांचनमेघ दीर्घ
दामोच्छ्वसत्कुवलय ७ ७ - ७ -
- 11 - । गत्या वृषं वृषरतिर्नलकूव(व)रस्य रूपं जिगाय सुभलक्षणलक्ष्ममूर्त्तिः
॥१४॥*] अपि च । वेदाभ्यासपवित्रवत्तत्रकमलः शास्त्रेषु पारंगतः काव्या-
[ब्धानक]नाटकादिषु
- 12 परं प्रावीण्यमाप्तः स्वयम् । कर्ता चाद्भुतवस्तुरभ्यवचसां [आवा]मृतस्यंदिनां
सूक्तीनां कुशलः कलासु सकल[स्मृत्यर्थः?] - - स्थिरः ॥१५॥*]
व(व)ह्विः

- 13 [इ]रीकृत्य कृत्यवित् । देवानाराधयामास वितुष्णः सप्ततनुभिः ॥[१६॥*]
संसारासारतां ज्ञात्वा विदुषां म धुरि स्थितः । सर्व्वत्राचोक्तान्कूपसरामि
... [II] [१७॥*] ...
- 14 तु मरुदेम ध्वजव्याजेन निम्मेलम् । प्रससार मशस्तस्य प्राप दक्वे(च्व)-
द्रमडलम् ॥[१८॥*] तस्मात्स्या स्यातिमापन्ना जगत्यापन्नपालनात् । ...
इति
- 15 . . [II] [१९॥*] -- ७ -- ७ ७ [निहत्य रजस्तमांसि शापाक्षरादलितदुर्दम-
दर्पसर्पः । दामोदरो विजितदुर्जयकोपमोहः संसार -- ७ ७ ७ -- ७ ७ -- ७ --
॥[२०॥*] पूर्वज-
- 16 न्मान्तरोपात्तसंस्कारस्य प्रभावतः । स वा(वा)ल एव गृण्वात्मा सर्व्वशास्त्राण्यवु-
(वु)ध्यत ॥[२१॥*] अपि च । प्रद्युम्नः किमयं पुनः क्षितितलं प्राप्तः
[स्वयं] कौतुकात्स्मृत्वा शेषव-
- 17 मेष वारिधिमृताकान्तो जयन्तः किमु । किम्वा तारकमारको दधदसावेकं मुखं
लोलया भातीत्यं [चतुरश्च कीर्त्तिविभवः] -- ७ -- ७ -- ॥[२२॥*] एकसंस्थः
स्थिरप्रज्ञः सु-
- 18 कविर्वादिनां वरः । पिरगोभक्तोनुरक्तश्च श्रुतो धर्मपरश्च सः ॥[२३॥*]
सोयं सरस्वतीमनुर्व्व(व्र)ह्मलोके वसन्पुनः । देवानां गुरुणा सार्द्धं जन्ययामास
सन्मतिः ॥[२४॥*] व(व्र)ह्म-
- 19 पार्देदि सर्व्वेषां व(व्र)ह्मर्षीणां च पश्यताम् । विवादः सुमहानासीत्तयोर्व्विवाव-
लिप्तयोः ॥[२५॥*] सर्व्वज्ञत्वात्सुवक्तृत्वात्सरस्वत्वाः प्रभावतः । सप्तमेहनि
वा(वा)लेन विजितो
- 20 देवतागुरुः ॥[२६॥*] पराजयविलक्षणे कोपेनाहुतचेतसा । शप्तः स वा(वा)लो
गुरुणा मच्छ त्वं मर्त्यमण्डलम् ॥[२७॥*] निशम्य तत्तस्य वचः सरस्वती
सुतस्य वापात्परितप्तमानसा । प्र-
- 21 णामपूर्व्वः कर्णैरयोदितः प्रसादयामास गुरुं दिवीकसाम् ॥[२८॥*] न तस्या
उपरोधेन दयार्द्रोक्तमानसः । व(वृ)हस्पतिरुवाचेदं मा भेषोव(व्र)ह्मणः सुते
॥[२९॥*] तवायं वा(वा)-

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

A



(from Photograph)



(from Photograph)

- 22 लकः पुत्त्रि मा विषीद जितात्मनाम् । उत्पत्स्यते कुले पुण्ये विप्राणामृत्या-
जिनाम् ॥[३०॥*] मातुर्वैशमि देवमदिरशिरोविन्यस्त[हस्ता]ननभ्राजत्काञ्चननिमि-
तोऽकलशचवस्ता-
- 23 त्वकारोत्करे । पौरुषवीसविलेपनोद्यतवृ(वृ)हदक्षोजविज्ञोभितप्रादुर्भूततरंगसंगसुरभिःकीडोल्ल-
सद्दीपिके ॥[३१॥*] मुख्यः सुभगः श्रीमान्मव्वंशास्त्रविशारदः । भविष्यति सदा-
- 24 चारः काल्यायन इवापरः ॥[३२॥*] ततश्च शुभ्रैश्वरितर्मनोरमैर्मनांसि गृह्णन्पुरवा-
सितां भुवि । स एष मित्वः सह रस्यते सदा गरुत्मकेतुनिवसन्निव वजे
॥[३३॥*] पुत्रस्ते वेद-
- 25 विद्यानिगमनविसरद्वैतकान्तिः कदाचिच्छास्त्रव्याख्यानलुब्धैः(व्यैः) सुनिशितमतिमिर्व्वेष्ट्य-
मानः कदाचित् । शिष्टानां सम्मताभिः कितितलतिलकः श्रीड[मा]नः कदाचि-
द्विद्वत्प्रवचनप्रव(व)-
- 26 न्यान्मुकविविरजितानाल्पतेयं कदाचित् ॥[३४॥*] समुद्रमज्जनाधूनमोदेषु पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
दृष्ट्वा तवांतिके भूयः पुरागच्छत्ययं शिशुः ॥[३५॥*] एवं सरस्वतीं यावदा-
श्वासयति [गीर्णतिः ।]
- 27 तावत्तसूनुकल्पः श्रीदेवधरवेशमनि ॥[३६॥*] यथैव गुरुणाख्यातं तथा स्थित्वा
स्वके मूढे । दामोदराभिधानोसी द्विरष्टवर्षाकृतिः^१ ॥[३७॥*] [परित्यज्य
निजान्व(न्व)म् ?]-
- 28 न्मुहुदः पितरो तथा । यात्रायां स मति चक्रे शापस्यान्तवशादय ॥[३८॥*]
ततश्च गणितैरेव दिवसैर्देवदुर्लभः । प्राप्तवान्वलघेस्तीरं दृष्ट्वा पुरुषोत्तमः
॥[३९॥*] तेनैव
- 29 गच्छता भूयः परमं ब्र(ह्म)द्वयः पदम् । आख्यातमिदमाख्यातं लोकानां तज्जि-
वासिनाम् ॥[४०॥*] दामोदरस्य वृत्तान्तममुमाकर्ण्य धीरधीः । कथं कथमपि
प्राणान्पितास्य समधा-
- 30 रयत् ॥[४१॥*] तन्मित्वं चित्त्रवेष्टाञ्जितविततयथाः सम्मतः सञ्जनानां
पुण्यात्मारामवाटीसुरतदनसरकीर्तनो(ने)तिप्रगल्भः । पौराणां श्रेष्ठिभावादुपजनित-

^१ One scholar is missing here.

- 31 मनःप्रोतिरग्राम्यकेलिः कर्ता काव्यप्रव(ब)न्धे पुनरिव गुणवान्वज्जदत्तोवतीर्णः
॥[४२॥*] मधुसूदनभक्तोसो मधुसूदनसंजितः । पुरमुद्यो(द्वो)तयामास प्रदीप
- 32 इव मंदिरम् ॥[४३॥*] वामोदरपितानेन मुहुदा सममताम्पत् । समदुःखसुखेनायं
शोकशंकुजतव्ययः ॥[४४॥*] मुपुत्रस्नेहव(ब)न्धेन तदात्मानं निशाम्य च । श्रीदेव-
- 33 घरनामामु सरस्वत्या अकारयत् ॥[४५॥*] प्रामादं शिखरे रम्ये यशो
मूर्त्तमिव स्थितम् । भाति तस्यैव विप्रस्य विदुषः कृत्यवस्तुषु ॥[४६॥*]
सोपि देवधरो श्रीरो निः*सुत्त विधिव-
- 34 दृगृहात् । मुमुक्षुः क्षीणकर्मत्वाद्विष्णोः पदमगात्परम् ॥[४७॥*] तस्मिन्पुरे पुरभि-
दश्चरणारविन्दमाराध्य लब्ध(ब्ध)शुभवो(वो)धनिरस्तव(ब)धः । कां सन्निय(ब)न्ध
७ ७ - ७ ७ मुक्तरेणुः]
- 35 पादांबु(बु)जः ७ ७ ७ - भूवि साव(ब)शंभुः ॥[४८॥*] अति च । भावाभावानुभाषी
विभुवनभवनाभोगगर्भैकचंद्रश्चावाकांतकदवः कृतसुगतमतिर्ज्ज्वनविज्ञानकेतुः । संसार-
- 36 भोधिमञ्जज्जनजनितनिजज्ञानहस्तावलयः(बः) शैवानामागमानामवगतमहिमा सव्व-
दास्त्रेष्वभिजः ॥[४९॥*] तेनेयं समकारि कलमपमुधा शस्ता प्रशस्तिर्त्त्वैस-
त्काव्यावज्जि-
- 37 तत्रेतयास्य विदुषा स्वोविक्रमस्य स्वयम् । तत्सूनीद्व पवित्रवेष्टितशतैः
शदवत्सर्ता सम्मतैः सन्तः सज्जनकीर्त्तनेषु महती यस्मान्मुदं वि(वि)भति
॥[५०॥*] ॥ ⊕ । ⊕ ।
- 38 देहादे चंद्रमौलिः कलयति गिरिजां यावदंभो ७ ----- स्थलस्थां श्रियमधिवहति
प्रेमव(ब)न्धादुपेन्द्रः । ----- ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ -----
- 39 [नो?] च यावत्तावद्देवीयमास्ता गिरिशिखरमिदं पावयन्तो पृथिव्याम् ॥⊕[५१॥*]
लिखिता भावेन । उत्कीर्णा च नागदेवेनेयं प्रशस्तिरिति ॥○॥

No. 23—INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467

(2 Plates)

DERALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

[Received on 29.11.1960]

During my visit to Malda in May 1959, an inscribed stone slab (now in the Malda Museum) was shown to me by Shri Shibendra Sekhar Roy, Pleader and Secretary of the Malda Museum, who stated that it had been found in 1958 by Shri Raghunandan Saha, Block Development Officer, during the Test Relief operation near a mound by the side of a large tank called Ratangāḍā, at Wari, 10 miles north of the Hariabhandrapur Police Station in the Malda District.

The inscription, engraved on the finished side of an otherwise irregular slab of basalt with letters in relief as generally found in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, contains six lines of writing. The length and breadth of the finished oblong face of the slab are respectively 1 foot 4½ inches and 5¼ inches. There is a socket on the back side, apparently for fixing it on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* referred to in the inscription. The writing has a raised border on all the sides. The letters are uniform in size and carefully made.

The characters of the record are Bengali and resemble those in the epigraphs and manuscripts of the 15th or 16th century found in Bengal and Assam. In regard to paleography, the following points call for attention. The upper part of medial *i* generally shows, instead of the curve above the top *uḍṭā*, an oblique stroke coming downward to the left from the right end of the top *uḍṭā* and attached to the top of the concerned letter, as in *likhyamānā*, *muni*, *Maṇubhī* and *nīmanāya* (line 1). This type of *i* is found in a few dedicatory inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some of the temples of Vishnupur in the Bankura District. Medial *u* at the foot of consonants like *n*, *p* and *s* (e.g. *Maṇubhī* in line 1, *putrā* and *varā* in line 3) is indicated by an angular attachment (resembling the tail of a fish), but has the modern Bengali form below such letters as *m*, *c*, *ṣ* and *d* (e.g. *muni* in line 1, *vīṇa* and *Vishṇu* in line 2 and *śrīpāṇḍita* in line 5). Medial *ā* in *mūrti* (line 5) is denoted by an angular curve resembling the modern Bengali form of medial *ri*. *Ananta* is indicated by a dot near the top end of the right side of the letter and also by a dot put above a slanting *daṇḍa* tipped by a dot placed at the right of the letter as in *vāṇa* (line 5). *Vīṇa* resembles the Bengali figure for 4 as in the copper-plate inscription of the time of king Vijayamāhikya of Tripura.¹ The *acograh* sign has the same form as *h* without the top *uḍṭā*. The sign of final *m* in *Vīṇanātham* (line 4) resembles somewhat the mark of interrogation placed obliquely. The tongue of *ja* in *Vijñānāya* (line 3) does not come down as in the modern one but is finished with an upward curve as in the manuscript of the *Śrīkrishṇakīrtana*.² The letter *j* is yet to achieve its final Bengali form, while *ṣ* (e.g. in *vīṇa* and *dhyanā* in line 2) shows an oblique *t*-like double curve attached to the left top of a vertical line. The letter *ṣ* has the shape of *s* (which of course is undifferentiated from *h*) with a dot inside the triangle as in the earlier of the two Barakar inscriptions³ and in a stone inscription

¹ JAS, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1953, pp. 73-82.

² R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, University of Calcutta, 1919, Plate VIII.

³ JRASB, Letters, Vol. II, 1936, pp. 21 f., Plate 4.

of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.).¹ The letter *l* exhibits a single oblique curve attached to the right vertical line. The upper portion of *l* looks like that of *d*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except for the names of the two compounds, it is in verse. The following orthographical points may be noted: (1) reduplication of *m* in *Manubher-mamandapash* but not in *sārair-muliyai* (both in line 1); (2) the use of *acagraha* in *bhakty-ā-dhrita* (lines 1 and 2) but not in *Mahēndrē-tra* (line 2) and (3) the absence of the mark of the final consonant with *t* in *sākhāta* (line 2) but its presence with *m* in *Viṣṇumāham* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1467, given in the chronogram *muni(7)-raṇa(6)-Muni(14)*. The year corresponds to 1545-46 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by a person named Mahēndra with the image of Viṣṇu in the centre surrounded by Śūrya, Gaṇēśa, Pārvatī and Viṣṇumātha respectively in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east directions. Like a modern tolerant Śmārta, Mahēndra rose above sectarianism and engaged himself in *pañcā-śpāsana*.

The contents of this inscription made me curious about the structure itself. With a faint hope of getting some traces I visited the site from Maldia on the 24th April 1960 and found the remains, scanty though they are, faithfully answering to the description.

The main edifice consists of a square structure with a low platform-like stone-paved *apāna* around it. The brick walls of its outer periphery, about 4 feet thick, are veneered both internally and externally with smooth slabs of bluish basalt (*śula-śtra* and *śil-śpala* of the inscription). Internally the structure is compartmented by a network of brick walls, about 3 feet 6 inches wide, into nine chambers (see Plate). The largest is the central chamber about 11 feet square, and it is surrounded by eight others—four squarish small rooms at the corners and four oblong bigger ones, one on the four sides of the central chamber. The latter, no doubt served as porches to the central and the corner rooms, utilized as sanctuaries. The central chamber has three doors, one on the front and the others on the sides, leading to the porches, while each of the corner rooms has two doors communicating with the flanking porches, the latter having in addition doors leading outside, so that they have each four doors, except the western one behind the central chamber which has three. The floors of all the rooms were originally paved with bluish basalt slabs, traces of which still linger at places. The frames of the doors were also of stone, the sills and jambs of which are extant in many cases.

The central object of worship, i.e. Viṣṇu of the inscription, is now missing.² It no doubt stood against the doorless western wall of the central chamber. The dislodged pedestal of the image now lies in the adjacent north porch. *Pañcha-ratha* on plan and of bluish basalt, it is 5 feet 11 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches wide (at the maximum point), with a socket, 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 7 inches in the centre of its rear end.

The corner rooms doubtless housed the remaining deities mentioned in the inscription. There is, however, at present no trace of them except that the north-eastern room still has *in situ* a *liṅga* of bluish basalt with a large *arghyapatta*. The inscription itself had been found loose, according

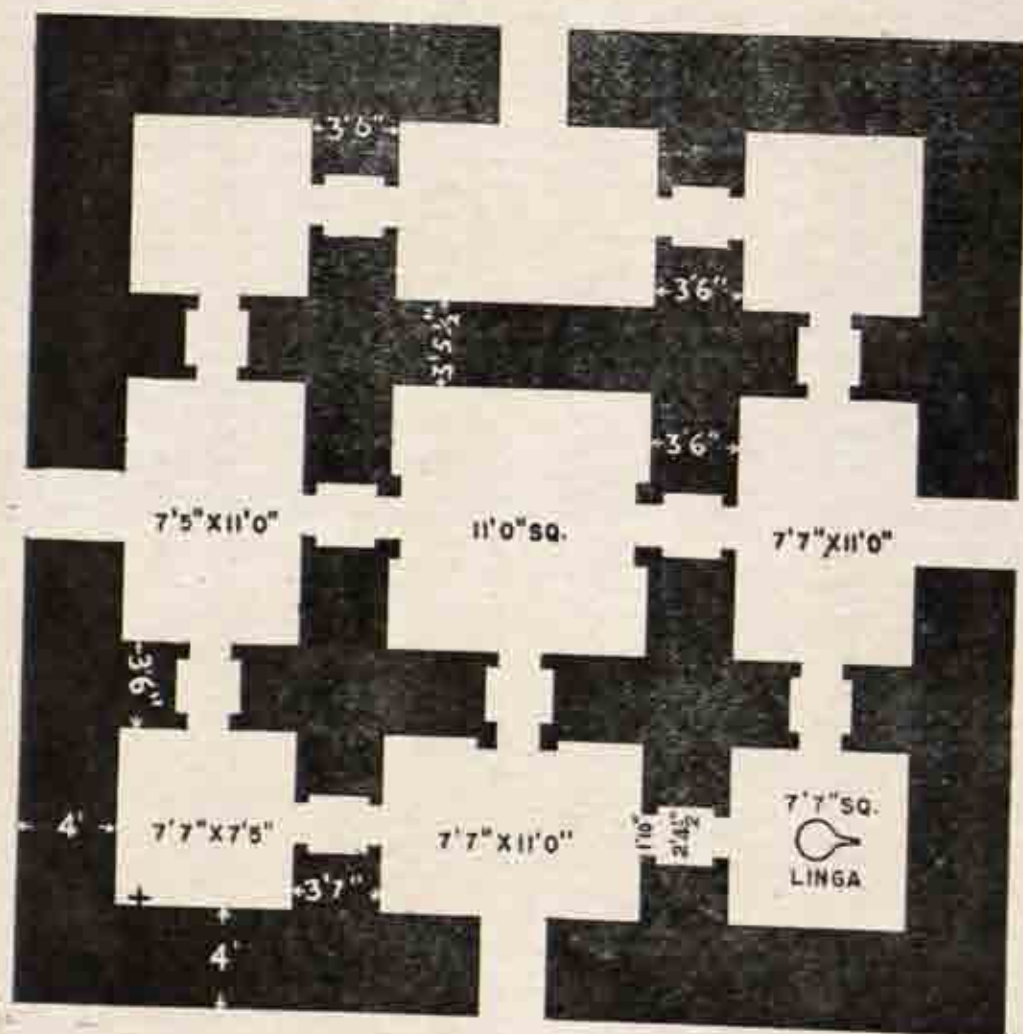
¹ Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114 f.; Plate I. This type of *r* also occurs on the dedicatory inscriptions on the Mallikārj, Śyāmarāj, Jōḍ-bāgā, Kālikahānd, Lājt, Rādhāvinōd, Murālimōhan and Madan-Gōpāl temples (all of the seventeenth century) of Vishnupur.

² My enquiries revealed that a large image of Viṣṇu, which may be regarded as the central deity of the shrine, had been removed by a local person who is said to have thrown it in the neighbouring tank following a mishap in his family.

INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467—PLATE I



SKETCH PLAN OF THE PAÑCHĀYATANA TEMPLE AT WARI



EAST

+ FINDSPOT OF THE INSCRIPTION

TANK

to Shri R. N. Saha,¹ at whose initiative the site was cleared off its debris and who was kind enough to take me to the site, on the top of the extant wall in the south-eastern corner room, i.e. the chamber of Sūrya.

The facing brickwork of the partition-walls is fine and its mortar is lime, while lime and *surki* are used in the core. The filling in between the facing stones of the outer periphery is of brick courses alternating with layers of concrete consisting of lime and brick grits. The mortar is extremely strong even now.

The structure (*mandapa* or *maṭha* of the inscription) was therefore a *pañc-āyatana* temple dedicated to the principal deities of the five recognized Brahmanical cults, namely, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Śaiva, Saura and Gāṇapatya, a remarkable combination under one roof. Although the spirit of rapprochement between the different rival Brahmanical creeds was at work from a fairly early period and syncretistic images, miniature temples with figures of different cult-deities on their faces and the *pañc-āyatana* temples consisting of a central one dedicated to the chief object of worship with four subsidiary temples at the corners of the quadrangle grew up in response to it, it seems to have gathered momentum after the conquest of Muslim rulers. The instinct of self-preservation appears to have prompted the votaries of the different Brahmanical deities to combine before a common foe who had no respect for their faiths.

Twelve feet away from the back (i.e. western) wall of the structure are the ruins of a row of nine brick cells connected with each other by side doors. It is not known whether similar cells, laid after a quadrangular monastic plan, existed on the three other sides as well. But this is not unlikely as the north-west end of the western wall shows a turn towards the north. To the east of the structure is the Ratangādī tank which, according to local belief, is the repository of *ratna* (valued, precious things).

In the office of the Block Development Officer exists a fragmentary stone sculpture which, I was told by Shri R. N. Saha, was found in the debris of the structure. It represents an eight- or ten-armed goddess seated in *lotli-dāsā* on a double-petalled lotus. All the forearms with the attributes, except a water-pot (preserved on the lap), are now missing. Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī of the inscription, the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex.²

Not far from the complex is another large tank, on the banks of which are remains of some more brick structures.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verse 1 *Śrīgḍharā* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilaka*.]

- 1 Śāk-ābdē likhyamāṇē muni-rasa-Manubhīr=mmṣaḍapaṇ śaila-sūrai=muktyai
nirmāya bha-
- 2 kty=ā'dhṛita-vīva(bu)dha-gaṇaṇ śrī-Mahēndrō=tra śākshāta(kshāti) | madhyē Viśvayam
Kṛṣṇānōr=ddi-
- 3 āi Divasakarath nairṛitē Vighnarājāṇ vāvyā Śailaputrīm Hara-hariti sūrai-vvandi-
- 4 tati Viśvanātham || [1*] śrī-Gōvindamīrasya ||⁴ Nū-ōpalēna ghaṭitō maṭha śha ya-

¹ Shri Saha also mentioned a carved gate which he has kept beneath a huge stack of bricks.

² [See below, pp. 182-84.—Ed.]

³ From the original.

⁴ Between the two *daṇḍas*, there is a floral motif within an oblong border.

- 5 sya saṃgharshaṇād-upachitā kila sīla-mūrtiḥ | śtanvatī vata vṛish-aiva kakaṅka-vādam
6 vimvō(mbē) vidhūr-vvimala-bhāṣa vibhāṣi rēkhā || [2*] śrī-Śatāvadhānasya || *

TRANSLATION

In the Śaka year which is being written by muni (7), rasa (6) and Mana (14), the illustrious Mahendra, out of devotion (and) for salvation, built, with the best stones, (this) *maṇḍapa*, which holds several deities, (with) Viṣṇu in the centre, the maker of the day (Sūrya) in the direction of Kṛiṣṇa (agni), Viṣṇurāja (Gaṇēśa) in that of Nirṛitī, the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) in that of Vāyu, and Viśvanātha, worshipped by gods, in that of Hara (Iśāna). (This is the composition) of the illustrious Gōvindamiśra. Made of blue stones is this *maṭha*, the blue form of which is produced by burnishing. Alas! The (black) stain in the brightly-shining orb of the moon, which spreads the ill fame (of the moon), (now) shines in vain (i.e. the lustre of the black stain pales into insignificance before the shiny black stone of the *maṭha*).^{*} (This is the composition) of the illustrious Śatāvadhāna.

* There is a floral motif here within an oblong border.

* (See below, p. 182.—Ed.)



(from Photograph)



Size : Actual

No. 24—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION FROM WARI

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 18.1.1961)

The Wari inscription of Śaka 1467 (1545-46 A.D.) has been edited in the foregoing pages (pp. 179-82) by Mrs. D. Mitra. The second of the two stanzas contained in the inscription runs as follows :

*Nīl-śpalēna ghaṭitō maṭha īśha yasya
nīlghaṭṭhaṇḍīl-upachitā kīla nīla-mūrtiḥ |
ātawati eata vr̥th-avira kalaṅka-vādaḥ
nimbē vidhūr-vimāla-bhāsi rikhāti cēḍāḥ ||*

We are inclined to translate it into English in the following words : " This temple is built of blue stone, owing verily to the rubbing against which, the blue-coloured line developed in the spotlessly shining orb of the moon appears—oh wonder! spreading the story of a stain [in it] wrongly indeed." The reference here is really to the great height of the temple and we have the same idea also elsewhere in the works of Sanskrit literature. One such stanza occurs in Ananta-bhaṭṭa's *Bhāratachampū* to which my attention was drawn by Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan. The verse reads :

*Yasyānandagra-nṛpa-mandira-chandra-cālā-
vātāyanē gati-vatīd-capuskī pravaktām |
dīp-āgra-dhūma-maṣikām īśīrām-īśa-bimbē
mōhū-kurāṅgi itī mugdha-janā vidanti¹*

Mrs. Mitra has referred to a damaged stone sculpture representing 'an eight- or ten-armed goddess' now lying in the office of the Block Development Officer at Wari about ten miles from the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District. She observes, "Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailapatī (i.e. Pārvatī) of the inscription [of 1545 A.D.], the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex." She is right. On an examination of an impression of the image inscription in question, I find that its characters are about six or seven centuries earlier than the epigraph of 1545 A.D. Moreover, the contents of the epigraph, as read by us, show that the image on which it is engraved is that of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The Wari Sarasvatī image inscription is written in two lines which cover an area about 6-7 inches in length and 1-1 inches in height. Its characters belong to the transitional stage when Gaṇḍī was developing out of Siddhamātrikā. It may be noticed that the top of the letters *p*, *m*, etc., is open in some cases (e.g. *p* in *paḥḥa* and *m* in *mūrtiḥ* in line 2) but closed in others (e.g. *p* in *śrīmat-Padma*² and *m* in *nirmamāṇsa* in line 1 and *p* in *purī* and *s* in *sa-śrī* in line 2). We know that the top of such letters is only rarely open in the Pāla and Chandra inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The inscription may thus be assigned on palaeographical

¹ Ed. G. C. Des, Bombay, p. I, verso 3.

No. 25—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 28.8.1960)

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jain Tirthaṅkara in the old Jain temple at Bhōjpur in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raichur District, Madhya Pradesh. The village lies about 16 miles from Bhopal. There are only two lines of writing in the epigraph, the first of which is bigger than the second and contains letters of a slightly bigger size. The akṣaras in line 1, which is about 21 inches long, are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in height, while those of line 2 (about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches shorter than line 1) are a little less than $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch high.

The inscription is fragmentary, the extant part containing about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the original writing. About $\frac{1}{2}$ of the inscription is broken away from the beginning. Several akṣaras have also been broken away from a few other places in line 1.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.D. They resemble the alphabet of the records of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I (c. 1000-55 A.D.), to whose age the inscription under study also refers itself. 'T' and 'n' have been written alike. The ornamentation of the *śaṣṭī* in *Chandrārḍha* in line 1 is interesting. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in two stanzas. The extant part of the record does not bear any date. But it can be referred to a date about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

There is a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in line 1. Its first half refers to Chandrārḍhamauli (i.e. the god Śiva) and the second half to [Rājārḍha]rāja-Paramāra Bhōjadēva. The deity and the reigning monarch may have been introduced by a word like *jayati*; but no verb can be traced in the extant part of the stanza. The palaeography and findspot of the inscription suggest that this Bhōjadēva is no other than Paramāra Bhōja I.

Line 2 contains another stanza in the *Upajāti* metre in the first half of which we can read the passages *Sāgaranandī-nāma*, while the second half has *sa Nēmicandra vidadhē pratishṭhām*... *Sā(Sāh)ti-jinasya mū(sū)riḥ*. It is thus clear that the object of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of Śānti-jina, i.e. the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The person responsible for its installation was apparently a Jain householder named Sāgaranandin, while the ceremony of installing the image was performed by a Jain monk named Nēmicandra-sūri. Although it is a Jain epigraph, the invocation of Chandrārḍhamauli or Śiva in verse 1 seems to suggest that the author of the two stanzas, in which the record was composed, was a Śaiva. The said god may have also been mentioned in connection with king Bhōja who is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it associates Paramāra Bhōja I with Bhōjpur or Bhōjapura, 'the city of Bhōja'. It appears that Bhōjpur was named after the said Paramāra king. Recently the Government of Madhya Pradesh published a small book in Hindi on the antiquities of Bhōjpur. Its learned author, Muni Kāptisāgarī, had to satisfy himself with some speculation on the origin of the name of the village. This is because he does not appear to have succeeded in deciphering the inscription under study.

TEXT¹[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 2 *Upajitā*.]

1. ————— [kā]rē Chandraśrīdhamulir-saamaḥ sama ———— [!]² —————
 m-adbhuta-k[rti]³ ————— * rājaparamēśvara-Bhōjadēvaḥ || [1*]
 2. ————— ra[h] Sā[ga]ranashdi-nāmā | sa Nē[m]icham[d]r[ō] v[i]-
 dadhē pratishṭhāḥ sudurllabhaḥ Sā(Sāh)ti-jinasya mū(mā)[r]ib || [2*]

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157

This small inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jain Tirthankara Pārśvanātha installed in the Jain temple at the village of Bhōjpur lying, as we have seen, in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raigan District of Madhya Pradesh, which has yielded the inscription of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I, edited above. There are only four lines of writing in the present record, the space covered being about three inches in height. The length of the inscribed area is about ten inches at the top and about seven and a half inches at the bottom. Individual akṣaras are about half an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century. Its language is Sanskrit, but the orthography is full of errors. The record is written in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the *Anuśṭubh* metre. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, no doubt the Paramāra king of that name, whose known dates range between Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.D.) and 1190 (1133 A.D.). It is dated in Vikrama 1157 (1100-01 A.D.).

The inscription begins with the date, Suktvat 1157, without further details. Line 1 refers to the *aśvarājya* (i.e. the sovereignty or dominions) of Naravarman. Next is mentioned the *Vamaka-Juaga* (i.e. the Vamaka family) to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. This is followed by a stanza in *Anuśṭubh*, which records the object of the inscription. It is stated that two Jina (i.e. Tirthankara) images were installed by a person named Chillaga who was the son of Śrīśāhis Hāma and the grandson of Nēmichandra. Chillaga, who belonged to the mercantile community, was probably a resident of Bhōjpur.

There is no geographical name in the inscription.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Sam(v)at⁵ 1157 | * [r]i-Naravarman-svā(sā)mrājyē Vēma-
 2 k-ānvaya(yē) | Nēmicha[m]dha(dra)-sa(su)taḥ nr̥(śrē)chthī Rām-ākhyō nā-
 3 pi-antiyah⁶ [!]⁷ tat-putra-Chillag-ākhyōna Ji(na)-
 4 yugmati pratishṭhitam(tam) ||

¹ From impressions.

² It is expected that the *śiddham* symbol was engraved at the beginning.

³ The letters lost here may have been *cāh*.

⁴ The first three syllables at the beginning of this foot appear to have been *rājādā*.

⁵ Read *Navat*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is indicated by a *césure*-like sign.

⁷ The intended reading may be *svamī-svrajat*.

THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I



2

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157



2

4

2

4

3. Bhilsa Inscription of the time of Jayasinha, Vikrama 1320



Size : One-third

3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasimha, Vikrama 1320

This small inscription engraved on a stone slab, bearing the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, was copied by me in October 1958 in the Archaeological Museum at Bhilsā on the Central Railway. The name of this well-known place is now sought to be changed to Vidiśā, although Vidiśā is really modern Basmagar opposite Bhilsā, on the other side of the Betwa. Such wanton change of geographical names has been the fashion of the day, though in the present case the correction seems to be unwarranted since, not only was the heart of the ancient city of Vidiśā situated outside modern Bhilsā, the early name of Bhilsā was Bhāllasvāmin or Bhāllasvāmin which was really the name of the Sun-god worshipped at the place. This name, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ can be traced as early as the ninth century A.D. Of course, the name Vidiśā, capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārpa country, is much earlier.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing which covers an area about 19 inches in length and about 11 inches in height. But only the first two lines of the record have the full length, lines 3-10 being much shorter since they are engraved towards the right of the space (about 11 inches by 11 inches) occupied by the donkey-and-woman motif referred to above. Individual aksharas are roughly about an inch in height. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing not quite satisfactory.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century. The top of the double *daḍa* is joined in one case. The language is corrupt Sanskrit and its orthography full of errors. *Ā* and *ṣ* have been represented by *ā* and *ṣ* respectively. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Jayasimha apparently of the Paramāra dynasty. It bears the date: Vikrama 1320, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Thursday. The date corresponds regularly to the 12th April 1263 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which looks like the numeral 6 and is not usually found in inscriptions. Line 1 quotes the date referred to while line 2 speaks of the reign of Jayasimha as well as of Bhāllasvāmidēvapura (i.e. modern Bhilsā) where a pious act was performed by a lady. The object of the inscription is to record this pious deed. Lines 2-7 contain a sentence stating that *Dēvī Sānumati* dedicated an object at Bhāllasvāmidēvapura for the *reign of Pāṇi Thā*. (i.e. *Pāṇi Thākkura*) Madanasimhadēva while lines 7-10 contain the *gāḍāḥa* curse. The said Madanasimha seems to be called *Pubhāni-nāyaka* probably meaning 'the ruling chief of a territory called Pubhāni'. *Dēvī* (i.e. queen) Sānumati was probably one of his wives. The queen appears to be described as *Kṛpākāṭha* meaning, 'resident of a locality called Kṛpākā'. The name of the object granted by Sānumati seems to read *drōṇiṣṭha* which appears to be the name of a locality. The donee is not mentioned probably because it was a deity in whose temple the inscribed slab was set up. It is difficult to say whether this deity was the god Bhāllasvāmin himself, though that is quite probable.

The importance of the inscription lies in its reference to Bhāllasvāmidēvapura in the dominions of king Jayasimha in 1263 A.D. since this king is undoubtedly the Paramāra monarch Jayasimha-Jayavarman for whose reign we have records of Vikrama 1312 (1256 A.D.), 1314 (1258 A.D.), 1317 (1261 A.D.) and 1331 (1274 A.D.).² According to Muslim historians, Sulṭān Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.) of Delhi captured the fort of Bhilsā in A.H. 632 (1233-34 A.D.) and demolished the temple of Bhāllasvāmin while Jayasimha-Jayavarman = Mādhātū plates of Vikrama 1331 (1274 A.D.) state that his father Dēvapāla (known dates between Vikrama 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 216 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 146.

A.D.) killed an *ādhipa* of the *Mlōchchhas* (i.e. a chief of the Muhammadans) near the city of *Bhāllasvāmin*.¹ This *Mlōchchhā-ādhipa* was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge *Bhilsā* was placed by *Sultān Iltutmish* and the reconquest of *Bhilsā* by the *Paramāra* king *Dēvapāla*, whose rule seems to have ended in 1236 A.D., seems to have taken place shortly after its capture by the Muhammadans. The reconquest of *Bhilsā* by the Hindus is further suggested by the fact that the *Khaljī* *Sultāns* of *Delhi* had again to conquer the city about half a century later.² The present inscription shows that *Bhilsā* continued to be under the *Paramāra* kings for several decades after its re-conquest by *Dēvapāla* before his death about 1236 A.D. at least down to 1263 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription, besides *Bhāllasvāmidēvapura*, are *Pabhāni*, *Kuptakā* and *Dvōrmēla*. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham³ || sarīvat 1320 varahē Vaisāsha(kha)-sudi [3]⁴ Gur[au] ady-ē[ha]
- 2 [śrī-Bha]llasvāmidēva-purē śrī-Jayasīnhadē[va*]-rājyē Pabhā-
- 3 [nī]-nā(nā)yakā-patnī[ha-Madanasi(śir)]-
- 4 ha[dō*]va-śrēya(yō)-nimitta[m] Ku-
- 5 ptakā[stha]-dēvī Sānu-
- 6 matī⁵ Dvōrmēla[m] pra-
- 7 dattam(ttam |) yō na da-⁶
- 8 dāti tasya mī-
- 9 tē⁷ garddabhō ja-
- 10 bhāti⁸ ||

¹ Ibid., p. 144.

² See, cit. Reference is sometimes made to Ballian's invasion of Malwa about 1236 A.D. (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 192). But this was an attack on the Jajapolas of Narwar (*Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 68).

³ From impression.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The reading of the numeral may be 2 also.

⁶ Read *dēvī Sānuvatyā*.

⁷ This seems to be the name of a locality.

⁸ There is an unnecessary *da* after this *abāva*.

⁹ Read *mātram*.

¹⁰ Read *prabhā*.

No. 26—MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.1.1961)

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

Eight Barhut inscriptions have recently been published by us in the pages of this journal, one¹ secured for the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, and seven² for the Allahabad Municipal Museum. When we visited the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Vārāṇasī in the month of December 1960, we were glad to find there three more inscribed stone slabs from Barhut in addition to the one previously noticed by us.

The texts of the three inscriptions published in the following lines are already known to us from the works of Cunningham,³ Lüders⁴ and Barua and Sinha⁵. Hoernle and Hultzsch did not deal with these epigraphs in their articles on the Barhut inscriptions.⁶ As in the case with other inscriptions from Barhut, the characters of the epigraphs under study are Early Brāhmī of about the second century B. C. and their language is Prakrit.

No. 1

This inscription in one line (8·7 inches long), having individual letters a little less than an inch in height, reads:

Paḍḍelakasa Pu[sa]kasa s[ul]lā dāna[m] [?]*

"[This] rail-bar is the gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka), the Paḍḍelaka (inhabitant of Paḍḍela)."

No. 2

The inscription is written in a single line 9·7 inches in length. Individual letters have the same height as in No. 1. It reads:

[A]sitamasāya Valimitasa dāna[m] [?]

"[This is] the gift of Valimita (Valinūtra) [hailing] from Asitamasā."

The personal name *Valimita* was read by Cunningham and others as *Valamita*. The geographical name *Asitamasā* seems to suggest that it was a locality situated near the confluence of two rivers called *Asi* and *Tamasā*, the latter being the modern *Tons* running about two miles from Barhut.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 206.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

³ *Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 142, Nos. 61-63 and Plate LVI.

⁴ *Lüders' List*, Nos. 876-78.

⁵ *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 32, Nos. 60-62.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 253 ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

* The asterisk may be read as *pi* also.

* Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

* The mark of punctuation is indicated by a *svastika* sign.

No. 3

The length of the single line in which this inscription has been written is 7·8 inches and individual letters in it are of the same height as in Nos. 1-2. The line reads :

[Paraka]śh[ā]y[ā] Sirimāyā dānam [i*]

"[This is] the gift of Sirimā (Śrimat), the Parakaśhikā (inhabitant of Parakata)."

The reading of the first *akṣara* is doubtful and it is uncertain whether there is another *akṣara* before what has been read as *pa*. *Parakaśhikāya* may also mean '[hailing] from Parakaśhikā.'

2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

This small inscription is incised on a pillar which was discovered in the village of Durā in the Kiraoli Tahsil of the Agra District, U. P., by an Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, attached to the Northern Circle, Agra. The inscribed pillar is now lying at the office of the Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra. The inscription was copied by me about the end of August 1960.

There are only seven lines of writing in the inscription, the inscribed space covering about 8½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height and individual *akṣaras* being a little above ¼ inch high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, many letters being damaged especially in the lower half of the record.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage. The initial vowel *e* and the numerical symbols for 10 and 6 occur in line 2. The language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in many other inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The record is dated in the year 16 of the reign of *Mahārāja Kanishka* [I], the name of the king being spelt as *Kāniskka* as in some other epigraphs.¹ The date of our inscription is thus the year 16 of the Kanishka era, which is now generally identified with the Saka-kāla of 78 A.D., and corresponds to 94-95 A.D. There are no other details of the date quoted in the record.

Lines 1-3 quote the year 16 of (the reign of) *Mahārāja Kanishka*. But the passage *ataya pūvay* (*claryām pūrvayām*) follows *Maharajasya Kāniskhaya savachhara 16* (*Mahārājasya Kāniskhaya samvatsare shodāśe*), without actually mentioning the *tithi* to which it refers. Lines 3-5 speak of a lady named Vardhantikā belonging to a family of village-headmen of the Āti clan and the Rishṭishaya (Ārshṭishaya) gotra (*grāmkānām Ātiśāh Rishṭishaya-sagotrāna Varudata-putrīgā Vardhantikaya*, i.e. *grāmkāyāṁ Ātiśāh-Ārshṭishaya-sagotrāyām Varudata-putrīgā Vardhantikayā*). Lines 6-7 state that the said lady dedicated a house in favour of a community the name of which cannot be read (. . . *tikaḥ griho datto*, i.e. . . . *tikchāyāḥ grāham dattam*). The record appears to conclude with a prayer to the effect that the meritorious deed might be for the welfare of the people (*lokānām āyasa-stu*).

TEXT*

- 1 [Maha]rajasya Kāniskhaya [sari]-
- 2 [va]chhara 10 6 sta[ya pū]-
- 3 [vaye grā]mkānām Āti[nam R]-
- 4 shṭishaya-[sa]gotrāna

¹ See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 124.

* From impressions.

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

1



2

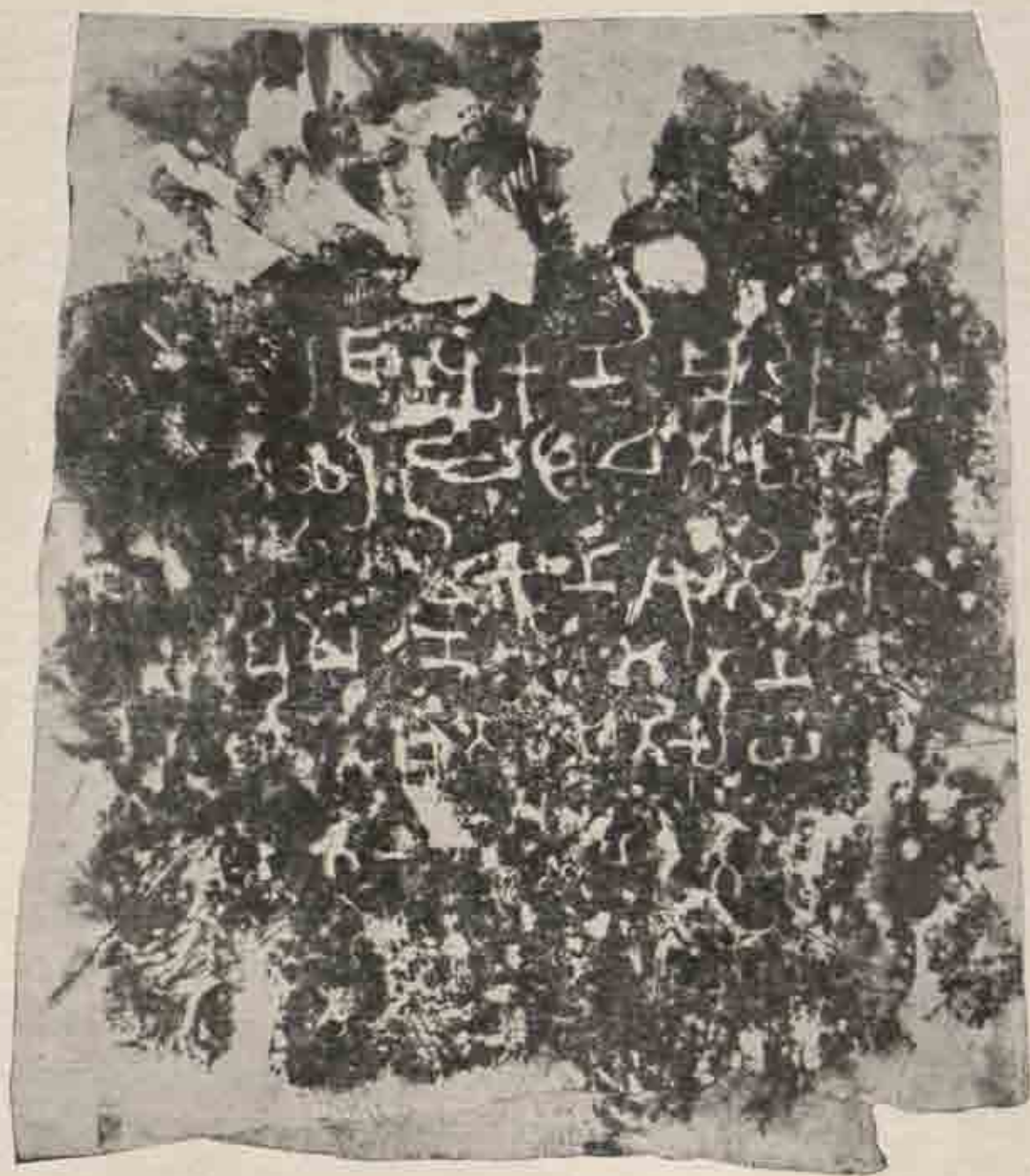


3



Scale : One-half

2. Dura Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16



Scale : One-half

- 5 [Vasuda]ta-[puttr]ā Vadhā]tikaya
 6 . . . tika[hi gri]ho datto [lo]-
 7 . . . [re]yasa-stu . .]

TRANSLATION

In the year 16 (of the reign) of *Mahārāja Kāpiehka*—on this date, a house is dedicated in favour of the . . . tikas by Vardhantika who is the daughter of Vasudatta and belongs to (the family of) village-headmen of the Āti (clan) and the Ārshitishena gotra. May (this) be for the welfare of the people.

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was discovered sometime ago at Gondal, 20 miles from Rajkot, in Kathiawar, and is now preserved in the Rajkot Museum. I copied it in January 1960. The slab measures 22 inches in length, 10 inches in breadth and 6 inches in depth while the writing covers a space about seventeen inches in length and five and half inches in height on the face which is six inches wide. There are only three lines of writing, individual akṣaras being approximately half an inch in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters have broken away from the end of all the lines. The akṣaras thus lost appear to be about four in number. The slab was apparently fixed into a structure with the inscribed face exposed to view.

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage as found in other inscriptions of the Śakas of Western India. The use of initial 4 and the numerical symbols for 200, 70 and 2 is noticed in line 2. The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Its orthography exhibits more influence of Sanskrit than of Prakrit. The date of the inscription is the year 272, Phālguna sudi 2. This year should of course be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year 272 would thus correspond to 350-51 A.D. This date is referred to [the reign of] a *Rājā Mahākṣatrapa*, the akṣaras of whose name are very considerably damaged though the traces of their lower part suggest its restoration as *Rudrasena*. This king is no doubt Śaka Rudrasena III, the dates of whose coins issued as *Mahākṣatrapa* range between Śaka 270 (348-49 A.D.) to Śaka 300 (378-79 A.D.). There is a break in the series of the coins of this ruler, no issues of the period Śaka 274-85 (352-63 A.D.) being known. This break has been attributed to a political disturbance during the period in question and it seems very likely that Rudrasena III was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and was compelled to accept the latter's vassalage for about thirteen years. It is only during Samudragupta's old age that he appears to have succeeded in reasserting his independence.¹ The present inscription is the only epigraphic record of the time of Śaka Rudrasena III so far known.

The inscription begins with a damaged *Siddham* symbol followed by a reference to its date falling in the reign of *Rājā Mahākṣatrapa* [Rudrasena]. The year referred to is quoted in a passage (lines 1-2) reading *dei-satara . . . satame* in words and 200 70 [2] (i.e. 272) in numerical symbols. The year given in words was probably written as *dei-satara-ādhike dri-satame* standing for Sanskrit *dei-saptaty-ādhike dri-satame*. If such was the case, as it seems to be, Sanskrit *saptaty* has been written in our record as *satara* which is somewhat different from Pali *sattati* and Prakrit *sattasī* (found as *satari* in inscriptions).² The form *satara* seems to be derived through the intermediate forms *sapnati* and *savari*.³

¹ These two akṣaras are damaged beyond recognition.

² The damaged word seems to be *lokādā*.

³ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305.

⁴ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 159 (text line 5) : p. 227 (No. 2, text line 6).

After the year of the date discussed above, line 2 reads : [Ā]bhīra-[kaś]bala-Siṃhasena-pūtra-Sya... in which *kaśbala* stands for Sanskrit *kṣhāvīra* meaning, 'a cultivator'. The mention of the Ābhīra farmer Siṃhasena reminds us of the Ābhīra general Bāpska's son general Rudrabhūti known from the Gunda inscription¹ (181 A.D.) of the reign of Śaka Rudrasimha I. Unfortunately, only the first *akṣara* (Sya) of the name of Siṃhasena's son, the recording of one of whose pious deeds appears to have been the object of the inscription, is preserved and the latter part of it is lost at the end of the line. If the said *akṣara* (Sya) is taken to be the sixth case-ending attached to the previous word (*pūtra*), the name of the person has to be regarded as totally lost.

Line 3 of our record reads : sarva-sattva-hita-s[ā]kṣhā[tha] ve[dī] [prati]śthāpita Phalgū[na]-śudhe dvi[tī] standing for Sanskrit *sarva-sattva-hita-sukh-ārtham vediti prasthāpita Phalguna-buddhe dvitīye* (divine). The *ve[dī]* or a raised platform was sometimes made in honour of a deity as a place of worship.² It thus appears that the son of Siṃhasena raised the *ve[dī]* in question in honour of some deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures. Since expressions like *sarva-sattva-hita-sukh-ārtham* are generally found in Buddhist epigraphs, it is not impossible that the person responsible for our record was a Buddhist. It should, however, be pointed out that, in case the reading *pūtrasya* [*amukasya*] is preferred at the end of line 2, the object of installation would be the *ve[dī]* of the person in question. This may mean that a platform was raised in his memory after his death or that his friends helped him in raising it (i.e. he raised it with the help of others).

There is no geographical name in the record.

TEXT³

- 1 [Siddham] [*] r[ā]j[ā] mah[ā]kṣhātrapa[sya] [Rudrasa]nasya va[ra]hye⁴ dvi-sava-tara . . .⁵
- 2 satame 200 70 [2] [Ā]bhīra-[kaś]bala-Siṃhasena-pūtra⁶-Sya⁷
- 3 sarva-sattva⁸-hita-s[ā]kṣh-ārtha[sya] ve[dī] [prati]śthāpita Phalgū[na]-śudhe⁹ dvi[tī]
¹⁰ [*].

¹ Ibid., p. 176.

² See *JRS*, Vol. XXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 43-44, 47.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Correctly, *carak*.

⁵ The last *akṣara* was probably 'dāśa śat'.

⁶ Correctly *pūtra*.

⁷ This was probably a name like *Syandaka*, so that the expression here was something like *Syandakena*. The intended reading may also be *pūtrasya* [*amukasya*].

⁸ Correctly, *sattu*.

⁹ Correctly, *Phalguna-buddhe*.

¹⁰ The intended word is no doubt *dvitīye* which may have been followed by the word *divite*.

MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272



Scale : One-half

No. 27—MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, ŚAKA 624

[I Plate]

G. S. GAL, ODTACAMUND

[Received on 26.7.1960]

A set of impressions of the copper-plate inscription edited below was secured for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra during the year 1957-58 from the Bhārat Itihās Samśōdhak Maṇḍal, Poona.¹ The plates are reported to have been discovered at **Mehunabare**, a village in the Chalisgaon Taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 12" by 6.5" with a hole at the top middle portion of each plate through which passed a ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal, if any, as well as the weight of the set are not known to me. Both the plates are engraved on the inner sides only. Each plate contains 12 lines of writing so that there are 24 lines in all. The last but one line of the second plate occupies only half the space to the right side while the last line consists of only six letters which have been engraved towards the end of the line. The writing is well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and generally resemble those in the other Sēndraka grants found in Khandesh and Gujarat.² Of the initial vowels, *a* is found in lines 18 and 23; *i* in line 22; *e* in line 6 and *o* in line 23. While medial *i* is shown by a complete circle above the letter, medial *e* is indicated by a loop inside the circular stroke with the right limb left open. Medial *ā* has generally a sort of a hook-like stroke. In the case of *ā* both this hook-like stroke and the straight one attached to the middle of the prong and turned upwards have been used; cf. lines 2, 5 and 17. Subscript *r* has sometimes a flourish carrying it left and right over the letter and even circling it; cf. lines 3, 8, 9, etc. Sometimes subscripts *r* and *ri* cannot be distinguished; cf. *ri* in line 2 and *prithivī* in line 9. Class nasal has been generally employed. Punctuation is indicated by two dots, generally followed by a single or double *daḥ* (cf. lines 1, 12, 17, 18 and 24). But where a *caḥ* is required the two dots serve that purpose and in such cases only the *daḥ* should be regarded as a punctuation mark (cf. lines 2, 6 and 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except two verses in lines 2-4 and two more benedictory and imperatory verses in lines 20-22, the remaining text of the record is composed in prose. The interesting form *śaṭan*, which is according to Pāṇini's rule *ṣaṭ* is *dhut* (VIII. 3. 29), occurs in line 23. *Nandis* rules have not been observed in some cases and there are some errors in the composition which have been corrected in the text below. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following as well as preceding *r* is sometimes doubled.

The charter is **dated** (lines 15 and 23-24) Śaka 624 (expressed in words), Śrāvaṇa ba. II, **saṅkrānti** and **vyatipāta**. In the absence of the mention of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the said *tithi* corresponded to Tuesday, 25th July 702 A.D. But the *saṅkrānti* occurred on the previous day, i.e. Monday, the 24th July 702 A.D., which seems to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription opens with the word *Siddhanta* expressed by a symbol and followed by the word *smṛti*. Then follows the preamble *Māva-sāhā-mahādharma*, etc., which introduces the **Sēndraka** dynasty and is also found in the other Sēndraka records referred to above. Verse 1 in lines 2-4

¹ This is A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. A 12.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. and Plates; ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 118 ff. and Plates; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and Plates.

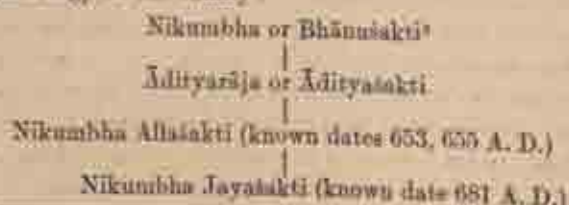
introduces *Rājan Dēvaśakti* of this dynasty. His valour and other qualities are compared to those of Indra and Viṣṇu. His son *Rājan Daṇḍirāja*, whose strength is compared to that of Hari, Hara and Arjuna, is mentioned in verse 2 in lines 4-5. The following prose passage in lines 6-10 refers to Daṇḍirāja's son *Vairadēva*, the donor of the present grant, who is called the 'crest-jewel of the *Nikumbha* [family]'.

The charter was issued from *Bahalāpuri* (line 9) and records the gift, made by *Vairadēva*, of the village *Dēvigrāma* which is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gavyūtas* to the west of *Bahalāpuri* (lines 16-17). The donor was *Nāgaśarman*, son of *śaḍaśvame* *Nandivāmin* and grandson of *chaturvedīa* *Bhaṭṭa-Rēvasvāmin* who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gotra* and was a resident of *Kāñchipuri*. The gift was for the performance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaśīkārā* and *agnihōtra* for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his (i.e. *Vairadēva*'s) parents and himself in this as well as in the other world (lines 11-15). Lines 17-18 refer to the privileges attached to the gift village. In lines 18-20, a request is made to the future kings of the family of the donor and others to endorse and protect the said gift and lines 20-22 quote some of the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The charter was written by *Mahāśaṅkha-vigrahādhipati* *Sāuaka* (lines 22-23) and the record ends with the mention of the date in lines 23-24, which has been discussed above.

The present record is important in that it introduces a hitherto unknown ruler of the *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* family in the person of *Vairadēva* who held sway in the *Khundesh District* about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. As we have seen, he was the son of *Daṇḍirāja* and grandson of *Dēvaśakti*. All the three rulers have been eulogised in general terms only and no historical information is given with regard to any of them. Except the epithet *rājan* in the case of *Dēvaśakti* and *Daṇḍirāja*, no other titles, imperial or feudatory, are associated with them. Since *Vairadēva* flourished in 702 A.D., his grandfather *Dēvaśakti* may be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. This period falls in the reign of *Vikramāditya I* (655-81 A.D.) of the Western *Chālukya* dynasty of *Bādāmi*. From the *Karnul plates* dated in the tenth regnal year of *Vikramāditya I* corresponding to 664 A.D., we learn that the king made a gift at the request of a certain *Dēvaśaktirāja* of the *Sēndraka* family. It is not unlikely that this *Dēvaśakti* is identical with his namesake mentioned in the record under study. And since *Vikramāditya*'s grandson *Vijayāditya* (696-733 A.D.) was the imperial ruler in 702 A.D., the date of the present charter, *Vairadēva* appears to have been his feudatory, though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription.

From the existence of four copper-plate grants² we know that a family of *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* chiefs was ruling in Southern *Gujarat* and *Khundesh* in the seventh century A.D. The records supply the following genealogy of the family:



¹ *JARRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 228 and 229.

² These are: (1) *Bāgumēl plates*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 365 ff.; (2 and 3) *Silād and Kāśīre plates*, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.; and (4) *Mundkhēḍe plates*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 118 ff.

³ The family name *Nikumbha*, besides *Sēndraka*, was apparently due to its being another name of *Bhānuśakti* who, in all probability, was the founder of this *Sēndraka* branch in *Gujarat* and *Khundesh*. That it was a family name and not a *śiroda* as assumed by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) is made clear from the fact that *Vairadēva*, the donor of the charter under study, is called *Nikumbha-śirodāra*, 'a crest-jewel of the *Nikumbha* or *Nikumbha* family'.

No records of the first two rulers have been discovered so far. While the Bāgunrā, Nāgād and Kāsāre plates were issued by Allasakti, the Mundkhādē plates were issued by the last ruler Jayasakti. It has been suggested that Bhānusaṅgi, who may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., was placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II (610-42 A. D.) when the latter conquered this area from the Kalachuris.¹ It has also been suggested that from about 670 A. D. onwards, the Sēndraka rule was probably confined to Khandesh District only on account of the establishment of the Navasāri branch of the Chālukyas in Gujarat area.² This seems to have taken place during the time of Nīrmaṇdhya Allasakti who was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya I during whose reign the Navasāri branch of the Chālukyas was founded. Allasakti may be referred to the period circa 650-675 A. D. and his son Jayasakti, who issued the only known Mundkhādē plates in 681 A. D., may be placed in circa 675-700 A. D. No descendants of Jayasakti are known to us so far.

Now the discovery of the present charter dated in 702 A. D. issued by Vairadēva who also belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family shows that he was the immediate successor of Jayasakti as a ruler in the Khandesh District. The relation of this family to that of Bhānusaṅgi, though both belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha lineage, is not known to us. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the circumstances under which Vairadēva succeeded Jayasakti. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Dēvasakti, who has been sought to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Karnul plates of Vikramāditya I, was ruling in the Karnul area about 664 A. D. Probably his son Dandirāja also continued to rule the territory of his father while his son Vairadēva was transferred to the Khandesh District. This might have been due to the fact that Jayasakti died without leaving any heir to succeed him. As for the relationship between the two families, it may be suggested that since Allasakti and Dēvasakti were contemporaries, both being feudatory chiefs of Vikramāditya I, they might have been brothers or cousins. And this relationship might have given Vairadēva a right to succeed Jayasakti who seems to belong to the elder branch of the family.

As indicated above, the present charter was issued from Bahalīpurī which is no doubt modern Bāhal which is situated on the bank of the Girna river at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Mehunabare, the findspot of the plates. It is stated that the chief Vairadēva was residing at Bahalīpurī at the time of the gift. Recent excavations conducted at Bāhal show that it was a flourishing town in ancient times, its antiquities going back to the chalcolithic period.³ It has been suggested, on the evidence of these excavations, that Bāhal was affected by severe floods about 100 A. D. and that the site was re-occupied, after a long gap of 1200 years, during the Yādava and Muslim times (1300-1700 A. D.).⁴ But the discovery of the present plates shows that Bāhal was a flourishing town in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. and was probably the capital of the

¹ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.

² Ibid. This view of Prof. Misra is based on the dates of the Navasāri plates (*CHI*, Vol IV, pp. 123 ff., No. 27) of Śrīyāśvya Śilāditya dated in the Kalachuri year 423 (670-71 A. D. according to Misra) and the Manor plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.) of Vinayāditya Mangalārasa dated Saka 613 or 691-92 A. D. corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of the king. Both Mr. Krishna Deva, who has edited the Manor plates, and Prof. Misra take this first regnal year as referring to Mangalārasa's father Dharāśraya Jayasinha which has led them to assume that the latter founded the Navasāri branch in 669-70 or 670-71 A. D. But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-119), the twenty-first regnal year should be referred to Vinayāditya Mangalārasa's reign and not to that of his father. The recently discovered Madgapadra grant (loc. cit.) of Śrīyāśvya Śilāditya, dated probably in the Kalachuri year 420 (668-69 A. D. according to Sircar) shows that the Navasāri branch was holding sway in Gujarat as early as that year.

³ *Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1956-57*, p. 17.

⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

Sāndraka ruler *Vairadēva*.¹ It is also interesting to note that *Bāhal* was known as *Bāhalāpurī* in early times.

Of the other geographical names mentioned in the record, *Kāñchīpurī*, which is mentioned as the place of residence of the donor's grandfather is the well-known *Kāñchīpuram* near *Madras*. The donated village *Dēvigrāma* is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gaurās* to the west of *Bāhalāpurī*. It may be identified with modern *Dēvgaon* which is about six miles² to the west of *Bāhal* and three miles to the north of *Mēhugahere*.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁴ []* Svasti | Mēru-mahā-mahādharma-sūkhara-sthira-ruchira-sa(sa)manantā | *
vikasita-yasasī mahatī arī-Sē-
- 2 ndraka-rājānā⁵-anvayē []* Rāj-āśā-Dēvasakti⁶ | * Śatamakha-andri(dri)śa⁷ śrīmatāś-
(tā)w-śkanātha⁸ śairi-ri-
- 3 kōśa-pāsa-ūgrat(ga)haya-sukha-ras-śivāśa-lalāha-pramōdab | yēnē(n)-ai(kē)na prachupada-eva-
bhūja-bala-
- 4 kṛt-śrīti-paksha-kshayōn[ā]krāntā *trīṇa prithvi hata-kali-tamasā vikāramair-Vvishnum-
arā [] []* Tasya-ā-
- 5 tūajō Hari-Har-Ārjuna-tulya-vīrya[]* | * śāghya-śvayādhvare-pati[]* | prathitah
prithivyāś(vyām |) vājā samāsta-
- 6 vasudh-śāhīpat-īvarāyām śrī-Daṇḍīrāja | tī daṇḍita-vairi-vargah [] []* | tasya sutas-
tat-pād-ānūdhya-
- 7 śōvāśa-śhāturdanta-gaja-ghat-ā(ā)pa-bhāśura-mahā-samāra-sāha-āryāpta-nirmala-yasō(ā)
- 8 naya-cimava-trāga-gāmbhīrya-dhairyā-parākram-ōśāha-śakti-satva⁹-sa(sa)dhapanō nija-
kula-kāma-
- 9 śa-vana-śhāstaraśāś[]* | prathitā[]* | pūhavyām(vyām)-śāśhārūpa-guṇa-gaṇ-śdayō
Bāhalāpuryyā(vy-ā)-
- 10 vāśhītō Nikumbha-sūkhāmagī-śrī-Vairadēvah | * sarvān-ōva avān-anvā[]* | cha yath-
ābhāsam[sam]bhāhīyamā-
- 11 nakān(kān) samānūdarāyaty-asta val | * sāmivīdham-samābhī[]* | Kāśyapa-sagotrāya
Vājasa-
- 12 nōya-sad-brahmachārinō Kāñchīpuryyā(ri)-vāstavya-chaturvēda-Bhāṭṭa-Bēvasāmi-
pautrāya[](ya)

Second Plate

- 13 Nandivāni-śhaḍa-gavī-t-sūnatō śāṅg-ōpanishada-vēda-vidē Nāgaka-
- 14 samagē bah-chora-śaśvadēv-āgnihōtra-śrī-ōśarpan-āritham mātā-pitrōr-ātmanasē
chachik-ānu-

¹ This shows how epigraphical evidence may sometimes modify the evidence of archaeological excavations.

² One *gaurā* is equal to two *kāśas* or 4000 *śasas*. See *Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁶ Read 'śāghya'.

⁷ Read 'śāghya'. There is an unnecessary stamp-like mark after 'sa'.

[illegible]

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, inscribed on a dark, irregularly shaped stone or metal plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and compact. The plate has a large, irregular hole on the left side, and the edges are jagged and worn. The background of the image shows a light-colored surface with faint, repeating numbers (14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24) used for scale.

Scale : Three-fourths

15. śmika-punya-yaśō-bhīrri(vī)ddhayā pravarttamāna-Śrāvapa-bahulō(1-ai)kādaśyā(m)
sārīkrāntau sa-vyati-
16. pātāyām Bahalāpurīyā(h*) paśchimasyām' diā dvi-gavyūta-mātrakē bhū-bhāga-sa(sa)-
nivātō Dīvigrāmō
17. sāmā grāmā(h*) sa-sūn-ōpētaḥ [* +ōdraṇya(h*)] sa-parikara(h*) sakala-rāj-ābhāvyak-
ānvitō [* chāṭa-bhaṭṭa(a)-pra(prā)va-
18. śyō [* bhūmi-ehchhūdra-nyāyēn-ā chandr-ā-k-ārpava-kāhiti-śhiti-sama-kālikō yathā-
viddhi(dhi) pradattaḥ | atō-
19. smad-vamśyair-anyaiv-vv-āgāmi-nri(nī)pati-bhūmi-bhōgapatibhi(h*) sāmānyam bhūmi-
dānam=svagachchhadbhīr-ayam-asmadā(d-dā)yo=nu-
20. mantavyaḥ pratipālayitavyaś-ch-ōkraś-cha bhaga(va*)tā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna [(*)
Bahubhīr-vvaśuddhā(dhā) bhuktā rājabhi(h*) Sagar-ā-
21. dibhi(h*) [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaś(ham) [(*) 3*] Shashī-
(śh(ā)-varshi(tsha)-sahasrāṇi svargō mōdati
22. bhūmidah [(*)] āchchhētā ch-ānumantā chcha(cha) tam(tā)ny-ēva narakē vātō-
iti [(*) 4*] likhitam-idam mahāsāndhivigrahādhi-
23. kri(kī)tēna Śāukēna | gatasya Śaka-kālasya śaṭṭsu varsha-śatēśhv-idam*
24. sa-chatur-vvi(m*)śāhu ||

* Read paśchimādām.

* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

* This punctuation mark is unnecessary. Read "āchchhā".

* The words from gatasya to "idam" form half a verse in Anasūpā mīmā.

No. 28—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 30.11.1960)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of Ghoshikundi near the Kiul railway station in the Western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar.¹ There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are nearly two inches in height.

The characters belong to the Bengali-Maithili alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Patna District inscription of 1496 A. D. and the Barakar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A. D.² The *akshara* *ṛi* has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel *u* in *au* (line 4) is written like subscript *u* as was usual in the late Gaudiya and early Bengali-Maithili alphabets.³ The language of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of *ṛiṣṭ* (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for orthography, *ś* is represented by *ṣ* as is its pronunciation in Maithili and some other dialects of Bihar. The date of the record as quoted in line 1 is *Samsa 960 Sāmata 1610* in which *Samsa 960* undoubtedly refers to the Hijri year 960 while *Sāmata* (a modification of *Samsat*) 1610 refers to the year 1610 of the Vikrama era. The year in question corresponds to 1553 A.D. There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, *Pāṭisāha ṛi-ṛi-Esalēma Sāha* is mentioned in lines 2-3 and *Mahāṭa ṛi-Rupap-khōjā* in lines 3-4. *Pāṭisāha* (i. e. *Pādshāh* or *Bādshāh*, 'an emperor'), *Esalēma Sāha* is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor *Islām Shāh* (1545-56 A.D.), son of *Shāh Shāh* of the *Sār* dynasty. The designation *Mahāṭa* seems to be the same as *Mahāṭā* derived from the official designation *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* or *Mahattama* found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as 'the village headman' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was *Islām Shāh* and the head of the village or the village council was *Khwaja Rupap*. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghoshikundi record under study.⁴ It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word *ṛi* occurs twice as the prefix to the name of *Islām Shāh*, a single *ṛi* has been prefixed to the name of *Khwaja Rupap*. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single *ṛi*.

¹ Some impressions of the inscription were supplied to me by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office, CE. A. R. Ep., 1959-60, No. C 413.

² *JRAS*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16, and Plate; *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. and Plate; cf. *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 241. It is now known that the Patna District inscription was discovered at Biharsarif and is housed at present in the Patna Museum.

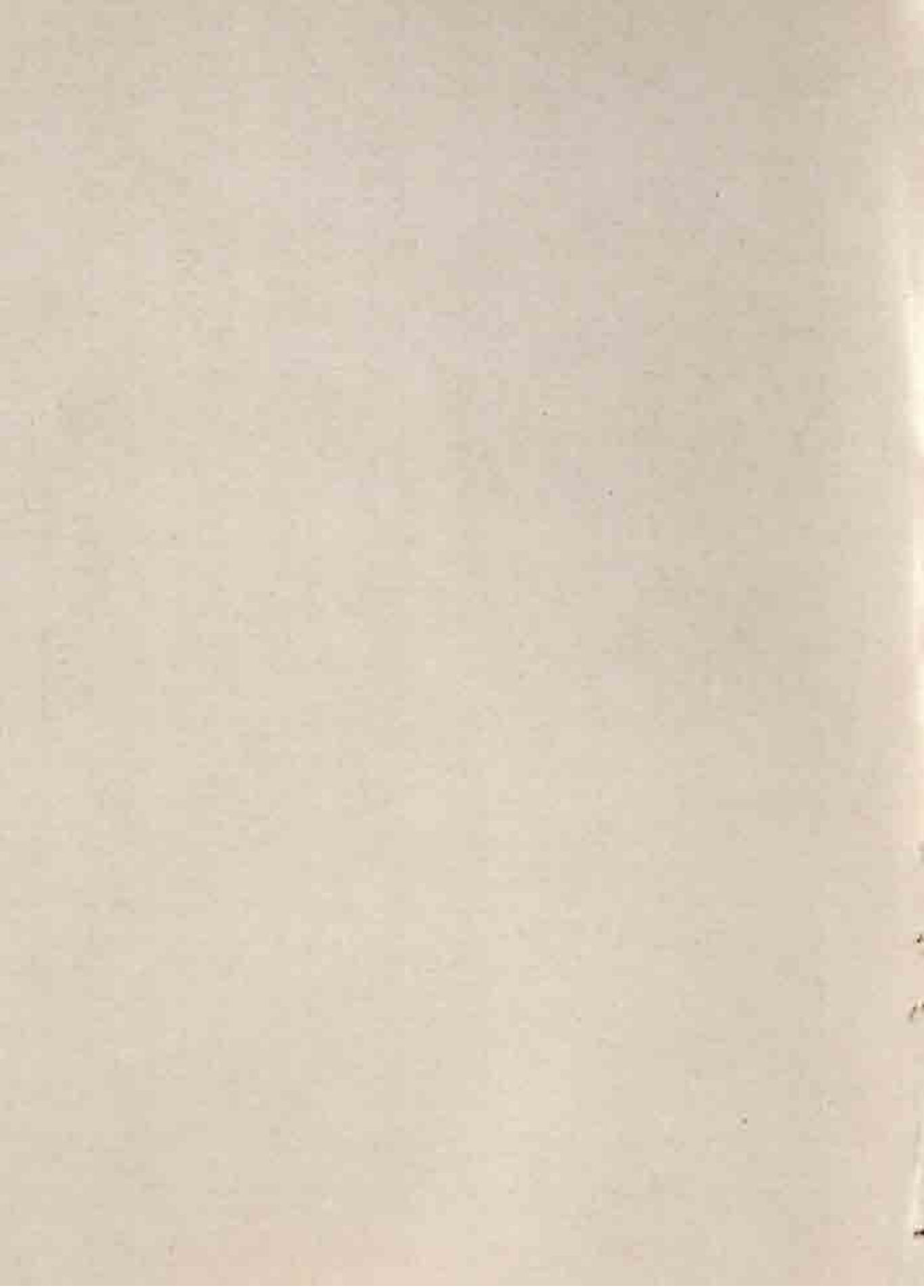
³ Cf. *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 82, note 1.

⁴ See, e.g. *above*, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1 ff. etc.; also Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 5, text lines 2-5, etc.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610



Scale : One-half



The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads *śrī Nasurudhī vadhā kupi kṛitā* apparently meaning that a person named Nasurudhī (i.e. Nāgīrud-dīn) made a *kupī* (i.e. well) which was *bandhā* (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The *kupī* or well referred to in the record must be the well in which the inscription has been found.

Another inscription of the time of Islam Shāh from Rajasthan was published by us in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXX, pp. 190 ff. It is dated in Vikrama 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśīra-badi 2, Thursday. The date was regarded by us as irregular, though the record was assigned to October-November 1547 A.D. This was because *Pūṛṇamāsa* Mārgaśīra-badi 2 in the said year corresponds to the 30th October, which was a Sunday. But in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B 413, the month has been regarded as *Āśvīn* and the year as current, so that the date is given as regularly corresponding to Thursday, the 9th December 1546 A.D. It is, however, doubtful whether we should expect the *Āśvīn* calculation of the month in the inscription which comes from Rajasthan.

There is no geographical name in the Ghōṣakundī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

TEXT¹

- 1 Sana 960 Śāmata 1610
- 2 Pītiśha śrī-śrī-~~Pa-~~
- 3 lāma-sāha Māhita² śrī-
- 4 Rupapa-shō(khō)jā || śrī-(Na)ma-
- 5 mūhi va(śh*)dhā [kupi] kṛitā | *

¹ From impressions.

² What has been read as *tā* may be *śa* also. But that does not offer any sense.

No. 29—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA

D. C. SINGAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 2.10.61)

The Mathurā fragmentary inscription of king Nripamitra, edited by me above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image in characters of about the fifth century A.D. It contains the concluding part of a *prastāva* in verse, which is followed by the sentence *kr̥tī-Dinnasya*, "[This is] the work of Dinna." The endorsement does not make it clear whether Dinna was the author of the *prastāva* or the sculptor of the image. There is, however, evidence to show that Dinna was a famous sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished about the fifth century A.D.

Two inscriptions from Kāśī in North-Eastern U.P., assigned to the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, were noticed by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, the first at pp. 49 and 62 and the second at pp. 49-50. The second inscription had been previously edited by J. F. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 272-73. But Fleet's transcript was not accurate.

The first record is engraved on the base of an image of the standing Buddha and reads: *Dīya-dharmā-gaṇi Sāpīya-bhikṣhāḥ Bhadanta-Suvīraṇa* [1*] *kr̥tī(r)-Dinnasya* [1*], "This is the religious gift of the Buddhist monk, the Venerable Suvīra. [This image] is the work of Dinna."

The second epigraph, engraved on the colonial image of the reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāṇa shrine at Kāśī, reads: *Dīya-dharmā-gaṇi Mahābhāra-vāsinā Haribalaṇa* [1*] *prastāva-kṛtīyāṇi Dinnasya Māthurāṇa* [1*], "This is the religious gift of Haribala, the master of the Great Monastery. And this image is made by Dinna of Mathurā."

Dinna mentioned in the above records from Mathurā and Kāśī appears to be one and the same person. He was thus not a poet at king Nripamitra's court at Mathurā but was a master sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished during the age of the Imperial Guptas, regarded as the Golden Age in the history of Indian art. It is of course difficult to be sure whether the Kāśī images were made by Dinna at Kāśī or were made at Mathurā and transported to Kāśī.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,
Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 30—SOME GAHADEVALA GRANTS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.2.1961)

It appears that, in the year 1948, the authorities of the Provincial Museum (now the Uttar Pradesh State Museum), Lucknow, purchased eight copper-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavāla kings from some dealers of Banāras (Vārāṇas).¹ Mr. M. M. Nagar, who was in charge of the Museum till recently, did not allow anyone to examine the inscriptions since he himself wanted to publish them. But, whatever may be the reason, he failed to edit the inscriptions. Sometime ago, we published in the pages of this journal² an article by Mr. V. N. Srivastava on a copper-plate grant of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra, which is one of the said inscriptions purchased for the Lucknow Museum in 1948.

In December 1960, I visited Lucknow and the present authorities of the Museum were kind enough to allow me to examine the unpublished Gāhaḍavāla copper-plate grants and to take their impressions. The remaining seven of the eight copper-plates (Nos. 2-8), purchased from the Banāras dealers in 1948, are published in the following pages together with one other charter of the family (No. 1). My thanks in this connection are due to Mr. M. Zaher, Joint Secretary of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department, Government of U.P., and Mr. R. B. Mathur who is now in charge of the State Museum, Lucknow.

It is well known that the copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavāla kings begin with some stanzas describing the rulers of the family from Yaśovigraha, its founder, to the donor of a particular charter and that the said introductory section in verse is followed by the introduction of the donor, in a passage in prose, as *vijayin* (not as *kulālin* as found in the charters of most other ruling families) and as the successor of his ancestors beginning from Chandra who was the first imperial ruler of the family. But, as is known to have been the custom with many other ruling families,³ a Gāhaḍavāla king merely copied the stanzas found in the charters of his predecessor and added a few verses describing himself, apparently composed by his own court poet. The earliest grants of the family belong to Chandra (c. 1090-1100 A.D.) who sometimes also called himself Chandrāditya. He was succeeded on the Gāhaḍavāla throne respectively by his son Maṇapāla (c. 1100-14 A.D.), grandson Gōvindhachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), great-grandson Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.), grandson's grandson Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) and grandson's great-grandson Hariachandra (c. 1193-97 A.D.). Thus the introductory stanzas found in the grants of Chandra are copied in the charters of Maṇapāla with the addition of a few new verses describing the latter king, and so on.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223, where the number of the copper-plates purchased has been mentioned as six.

² Ibid., pp. 223-28.

³ Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 238; Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.

The following verses are found in the records of **Chandra** who is the first monarch of the family to have issued copper-plate charters :

Akuntā-Śikantā-Vaikuntā-kanthā-pīthā-luṭhat-karāḥ |
 samśramāḥśaś sura-śrambhō sa Śrīyaś śrōyasō-stu vaḥ || 1
 Āśā-Aśtadyuti-varṇa-jāta-
 karmāpā-mālāsu divam gatāsu |
 śākhād-Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā
 nāmnā Yaśōvighraha ity-udārah || 2
 Tat-sutō-bhūn-Mahichandraś-chandra-dhāma-nibhaś nijam |
 yēn-āpāram-akūpāra-pārō vyāpāritam yaśaḥ || 3
 Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-manḍalō
 vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra¹-yōdha-timirāś tri-Chandradēvō nripaḥ |
 yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-śāśha-praj-ōpadravam
 śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asamaś dōr-vikramēṣ-ārjitam || 4
 Tirthāni Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśaī-Ēndra-
 sthānīyakōni paripālayat-ābhigamya² |
 bhīm-ātma-tulyam-antāśaś dadatā dvijēbhyaḥ
 yēn-śōkitā vasumatī śataśaś-tulābhīḥ || 5³

It was apparently the court poet of Gāhaḍavāla Chandra, who composed these verses which were copied in the later records of the family. But there is an interesting point to which attention may be drawn in this connection. The five stanzas quoted above are found in the two Chandravati plates⁴ of Chandra, dated respectively Vikrama 1148 and 1154, and were copied by his successors, though the two other Chandravati plates⁵ issued by the same monarch (therein also called Chandraditya) respectively in Vikrama 1150 and 1156 contain only four of these five stanzas (verses 1, 3, 4 and 5) while the grant of Vikrama 1150 adds six new verses five of which are also found in the record of Vikrama 1156 in addition to the said four stanzas.*

¹ Sometimes found as *dāra*.

² Sometimes found as *adhipamya*.

³ The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1 and 3 *Anuštubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Śrīśākhāśikṛtī* ; verse 5 *Varaṇatālaka*.

⁴ See above, Vol. IX, p. 304 ; *Ind. As.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11.

⁵ The stanzas were not read at all in the text published above, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96, 197-200, while an inaccurate transcript of the verses appeared in *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-37.

* The grant of Vikrama 1150 has the following verses :

Akuntā-Śikantā-Vaikuntā, etc. || 1
 Āśā-śāśha-narasiṁha-kīrti-kōti-
 suśbhāśa-ghatita-lāṣa-maśi-pāda-pīthāḥ |
 śrī-Dēvapāla-nripatiś-tri-jagat-pragīta-
 kṛnd-indu-dhāma-bīma-kairava-kānta-kīrtiḥ || 3

There is no doubt that the grants of Vikrama 1148 and 1154 used an earlier draft which was utilised in the revised draft found in the grants issued in Vikrama 1150 and 1156; even though it was this earlier draft that was popular with the successors of Chandra. King Chandra himself also did not use the revised draft in his record of Vikrama 1154, though the said draft had been prepared several years earlier and used in his grant of Vikrama 1150. This shows beyond doubt that the mere use of the earlier draft of the introductory parts of the charters of a king after the introduction of a revised draft of the said part should not be regarded as proving the spuriousness of those documents as has often been wrongly contended by some scholars.¹

Kāśīna nāśam-atha tasya gatānvarāyā

dōr-dāḍa-vikrama-hath-āṣṣita-Kanyakubjaḥ |

kāśīrō-yam-atra hahu-patrarath-ānugama-

mān-āmatir-vijayātē bhūvi bhūpa-rāmāb || 3

Tasmim-vamśe samutpannō Yaśōvigrāha-samjōakau |

vigrāhya mēdini yēna dāḍa-prasayini kṛitā || 4

Tat-autō-bhūn-Mahāchandra, etc. || 5

Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō, etc. || 6

Tīrthāni Kālī-Kuṣī-Ottarakūśal-Endraśāntyaśāni, etc. || 7

Haimāni yēna māṣāhāḥ khachitāny-anarghāir-

dattāni Vajrahanyō cha vibhūṣhapāni |

Kāśyām vyabhūṣhayād-anēka-suvarna-ratnair-

yat-cha-Ādikūśāva-vibhūḥ pratimān nivāya || 8

Kāśān-ākaraṣa harahād-apahara kumbhayō-mambaraṁ bhūcti sādhan-

udgōdhan-kāśichūkaṣya pranama chārasayōr-ūṣpur-śakta-hastak |

nivim-nūmūḥcha kāśchīm-apanaya na chīrśā-ittham-utvōla-rāgāt

chakrē vai sūkathānām sva-patir-iva tatē yaṣya hṛṣṭan-śat-anghab || 9

Dik-chakra-chumbh-ruchira-prasarat-karō yab

padm-ākārān-samridō mukulīkarōti |

samai kalatūka-malmāya jaḍ-ātmanē cha

vakrāya na sṛṣṭhayātē rajanīkarāya || 10

Prāchīm-anupracalitāni balāni yaṣya

dhūllūhīr-ambi ghana-pāṅkam-ākāśhur-śatbhūḥ |

kim-cha-sūva-rōchir-āchir-śamāhīr-antar-ān-

yādāni pāṅka-potapāka-pachīlīmāni || 11

Kaṣaṇṭṭalam vipulam-andripatim-andagrām-

amūḥcōdhitim-ātiprithūm-śakubhām mah-ābhūn |

ullāghya Śakrapura-stūmi yaśōrati vṛiddham

yaṣya ārama-kāma-bharād-iva sāmumūḥam || 12

Ravi-tatī-kulē guṇ-āḍhyā bhī-ravayō rāja-śekhara-rājā |

jaḡati punar-ika ēva svāmī yōg-śivaro-Chandrah || 13

Verses 7-10 and 12 of this section are not found in the grant of Vikrama 1154. The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1, 4-5 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 7-8, 10-12 *Paśantolobh* ; verse 6 *Sārdśācīrtīta* ; verse 9 *Spandharā*. The author of these stanzas may have been Yōgīvara. The indirect reference to the poets Guṇādhyā, Bhāravi and Rājāśkhara in these inscriptions (cf. verse 12 quoted above) is of exceptional interest. As will be seen below (p. 207, note 1), the prose section after this versified introduction is also different in these Chandravati plates.

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330, note 2. See also the case of Gōvindaśchandra below, p. 204, note 2.

The charters of **Madanapāla**, son of Chandra, have the following two stanzas in addition to the five verses quoted above:

Tasya-ātma-jō **Madanapāla** iti kshatindra-
 chūḍāmaṣir-vijayatō nija-gōtre-chandiraḥ |
 yasya-ābhishōka-kalā-śāsitaiḥ payōbhūḥ
 prakshābitaḥ Kali-rajah-patalaḥ dhantryāḥ || 6
 Yasya-śāid-vijaya-prayāsa-samayō tuṅg-āchal-śechhaiś-chalan-
 mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-śama-bhata-bhāṣyaṇ-mahī-maṇḍalāḥ |
 chūḍā-ratna-vibhūti-tāla-galita-śyān-śerig-udbhāsitaiḥ
 Śēshaiḥ pēsha-vaśāid-iva kṣaṇam-asau krūḍō nilin-ānanaḥ || 7

The copper-plate grants of **Gōvindhachandra** add the following stanzas to the above-quoted seven verses:

Tasmād-ajāyata-mij-āyata-bāhu-valli-
 bandh-āvaraddha-nava-rājya-gaḥ narendraḥ |
 śāndr-āmpita-draṇa-muchām prabhavō gavām yō
Gōvindhachandra iti chandra iv-āmbu-rāśēḥ || 8
 Na katham-apy-alabhanta raga-kālamāms-
 tishu dikhu gaḥ n-atha Vajrinah |
 kakubhi bahhrām-as-Abhrāmuvalabha-
 pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || 9

The following stanzas are added to the above-quoted nine verses in the charters of **Vijayachandra**:

Ajani **Vijayachandrō** nāma tasmān-marendraḥ
 Surapati-ivā bhūbhṛit-paksha-vicchebhāda-dakṣaḥ |

¹ See *JUPHS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 76-77. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 6 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Śarāṇavilāṣikā*.

² See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, p. 100, text lines 8-11. The metres of these verses are: verse 8 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9 *Draṇavilāṣikā*. The Basahi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) and Kamsali (above, Vol. II, pp. 223 ff.) plates, issued respectively in Vikrama 1161 and 1182 by Gōvindhachandra during his father's reign, have some new stanzas not found in the later records of Gōvindhachandra or his successors. The Basahi plate has:

Tam-īdyaṁ sarva-dēvānāṁ Dīmōdaraṁ-pāmahā |
 trūḷōkyas yasya vakt-iva krūḍ-ānā-etham vali-teyaḥ || 1
 Vamā **Gāhaḍavāl-ākhyā** bahbhūra vijayī nripoh |
Mahala-sutah śrīmān-Nala-Nābhāga-munibhaḥ || 2
 Yāt-āt-Bhōja-bhūpē vibhūti-vara-vaiśa-mōtra-śm-śitihitrah
 at-Karpē kīrti-śāham gatavai eha uripē kaho-śrīyō jāyamaṇā |
 dhartīrām yuh dharitī Trādivibhu-nibhaḥ jūti-yōgā-mpāḥ
 trātī vīrāsa-pūram samuttharad-āha sa kāmāpeti-Chandradēvaḥ || 3
 Drishat-kāṣṭhikāpāḥ sarvān-viśhāya vīrāsa-matē |
Kanyākubjā-karōd-rājā rājadhāntu-mānditām || 4
 Tā-ījau drishat-śāpati-danti-śūbhah
 kshōḍapati-**Madanapāla** iti prastōdhaḥ |
 yō-śrīyānta kakubhā satoara-prabandhāḥ
 sannarita-prakāśa-satn-kabandha-bandhāḥ || 5

bhuvana-dalana-kēlā-harṇya-**Hamimīra**-nārī-
 nāyana-jalada-dhārā-sānta-bhūlōka-tāpāḥ || 10
 Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēlī-viśimkhalāni
 prakhyāta-kīrti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavaṇi |
 yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāṣi bhāṣati
 prōjjirimbhayanti Bālī-rāja-bhayaṇi yāśāsi || 11¹
 Yasmīnś-chalaty-udadhi-nāmi-mahī-jayāya
 mādyat-karindra-guru-bhāra-nipīdī-eva |
 yāti Prajāpati-padaṇ śaraṇ-ārthini bhū-
 tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ōtīha-rajaś-chhalāni || 12²

Tasmāt-ajāyate-narāvara-vrinda-vandya-
 pād-āravinda-yugalō jvalita-pratāpāḥ |
 kabhōlpatindra-tīlakō ripu-raṅga-bhaṅgī
Gōvindhachandra iti viśruta-tājaputraḥ || 6

The Kanauḍi plate, which has *Tasmāt=abāt*³ for *Tasmāni* in verse 5 and *śaraṇ-kīrti* for *rājayatra* in verse 6, omits the fourth stanza but adds the following verse at the end so that the number of verses is six in this case also :

Tīkṣhātō yasya dōh-stambhō matta-sauri-sīka-dantimāḥ |
 dhanur-guṇa-kīpa-śrīṇi mada-yōjitra-lakṣyātō || 7

The metres of these verses are : verses 1-2, 4 and 7 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3 *Śrīgāhī* ; verses 5-6 *Paśantītilakā*.

The Bahan plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.) of Vikrama 1168, also issued by **Gōvindhachandra** during his father's reign, has again the following set of verses :

Akṣat-ōtkaṣṭha-Vaṇiṣṭha⁴, etc. || 1
 Abhūn-śrīpō **Gāhādavāla**-vaṇi
Mahātālō nāma jī-śrī-chakrah |
 āhātō dhara-bhāraṇa-sāccham-śaha
 Śahah sakṣi yasya bhūjī nīdhāya || 2
 Pradhvastō Sōma-Śrīy-ādihara-vidāna-mahā-kṛdātra-vaṇiś-dvayō-anūn-
 utamnaprāya-vēda-dharaṇi jagad-akṣilam manyamānaś Śrāyamaṇhāḥ |
 kīrtā dōha-grahāya pravaṇam-īha manah śakṣha-buddhir-śhastrīyāna
 nādhartam dharmā-mārgam prathīnam-atha tathā kōṭṭra-vaṇiś-dvayaṇi cha || 3
 Vamō tāra tāra sa śaha samatāndābhūpālō-chōḍānāyib
 prōdhvast-ōddhata-vali-vira-timiraś śrī-Chandradēvō śrīpāḥ |
 yōn-ōdāratra-pratāpa-kāmī-śakṣha-paṇi-śpadraṇam
 śrīmad-**Gādhīpur**-ādīrājyaṇa-samamā dōr-vaṇamāy-śrījāni || 4
 Tīrthāni Kālī-Kaṭik-Ōtara-kōmī-Badrasthānīyakāni, etc. || 5
 Tasya-śrīmājō Madanapālō iti, etc. || 6
 Yasya-śrīd-śrījaya-prayāga-samayō, etc. || 7
 Jātas-tatō rajanījānīr-iv-āmba-śāśīr-
Gōvindhachandra iti kānti-bhar-ōbhīrāmāḥ |
 rāj-ātmajāna bhayātō samuparjānī
 Rāmāna Dīśarathīn-ēva yāśāmi yōna || 8
 Durvāra-aphāra-**Gauda**-drivada-vura-ghaṭā-kurūka-śikṣhāśa-bhūmō
Hamimīra nyasta-valuta mukur-samā-rupa-kṛtīyā yō vāṇastō |
 śavāt-saśchāri-valgat-turaga-khura-pat-ōḷḷka-mudrā-saṇṭha-
 kabhōṭ-śrīkāra-dakṣhaś sa śha vījayatō prāthamā-kulpa-vīrāhaḥ || 9

The metres of the stanzas are : verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 3 and 9 *Śrīgāhī* ; verses 4-5 and 7 *Śārdūlakīrīḍī* ; verses 6 and 8 *Paśantītilakā*. The fourth stanza is a modification of verse 4 quoted above.

¹ This stanza is not found in some of the records of Vijayachandra (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 119).

² See, e.g., above Vol. XXXIV, pp. 224-25. The metres of these stanzas are : verse 10 *Māli* ; verses 11-12 *Paśantītilakā*.

Jayachchandra's copper-plate grants have the twelve stanzas quoted above and the following two verses in addition thereto :

Tasmād-adbhuta-vikramād-atha Jayachchandr-ābhidhānaḥ patir-
bhūpānām-avatirṇa śha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ |
dvaiddhi-bhāvam-apāya vigraha-ruchim dhikṛitya śānt-ālayāḥ
śevantē yam-udagra-bandhana-bhaya-dhvata-ārthinaḥ pārthivāḥ || 13
Gachchhān-mūrchhām-stuṣchhān na yadi kavayēt-kūrma-priabḥ-ābhigāta-
pratyāvṛittam¹ śram-ārtō namad-akhila-phapa-śvāsa-vātyā-sahasram |
udyōgē yasya dhāvad-dharaḥidhara-dhūnī-nirjara-sphāra-dhāra-
bhāsyad-dāna-dvip-ālī-bahala-bhāra-gaḥad-dhairyā-mudraḥ Phaṇḍraḥ || 14²

The following verses are added to the above quoted fourteen stanzas in the Maṅghliśahar plate (Vikrama 1253=1197 A.D.)³ of Hariśchandra, son of Jayachchandra and the latest known member of the Imperial Gāhaḍavāla house :

Tasmād-āśid-aśima-tvara-turaga-khura-kubōda-vikshipta-dhūli-
vyāpta-kṣmā-chakravāla-krama-kalita-nabhō-ruddha-sūta-ptakāśaḥ |
śēnā-sambhāra-sampad-daravidalad-ilām dōr-gatāḥ nyasya chaṇḍaś-
chaṇḍ-ārka-bhrānti-dāyi-sphurad-aśama-yaśāḥ śri-Hariśchandradēvaḥ || 15
Yēna prapāma-patita-kṣitipāla-mauli-
rainā-prabhā-ruchira-chāru-pad-śmubujēna |
oddanḍa-śitakara-maṇḍala-puṇḍarika-
ḍiṇḍira-piṇḍam-iva subhāra-yaśō vitēnē || 16⁴

The above versified section is followed by a stereotyped introduction of the donor in prose. To illustrate this, we may quote the passage in question from the Maṅghliśahar plate referred to above :

śō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saśaśvita-charaṇaḥ sa cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
dhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śri-Kanyakubj-ādhipatya-śri-
Chandradēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-parama-
māhēśvara-śri-Madana-pāladēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-śrīpati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-
vidyā-vichāra-Vāhaspati-śrīmad-Gōvinda-chandradēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-

¹ Sometimes we have *pratyāvṛitta*.

² See, e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 139 ff. The metres of the stanzas are : verse 12 *Śāndilīśikṛīṭa* ; verse 14 *Śrughārikā*.

³ Above, Vol. X, p. 97. Verse 15 was not properly deciphered.

⁴ The metres of the stanzas are : verse 15 *Śrughārikā* verse 16 *Parvatīlaka*.

raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-
 ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-Vijayachan-drādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-para-
 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-
 rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrī-Jayachchen-drādēva-pād-ānud-
 hyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-
 narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Hari-āchndradēvō
 vijayī.¹

The list of subordinates and officers addressed by the king in respect of grants, the description of the ceremonial offering of the gift land and the privileges of the donee as found in the Gāhadvāla charters are couched in practically the same language. The imprecatory and benedictory verse quoted about the end of the said records are also almost the same.

No. 1—Grant of Gōvindhachandra, Vikrama 1196

This inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. A 29. It is a single thick plate measuring nineteen inches in length and thirteen inches in height. There is a circular hole (about 2 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the top part, but no seal. The plate is engraved only on one side and there are in all 24 lines of writing. Its ends are raised for the protection of the writing. The weight of the plate is 465.6 gm.

The date of the grant is quoted in lines 15-16, both in words and figures, as Vikrama 1195, Phālguna-vadi 15, Tuesday. This date corresponds to the 31st January 1139 A. D., the said *tīthi* having begun on that day and ended on the next.

The Gāhadvāla king Gōvindhachandra is stated to have granted, on the date indicated above, the village called *Vanāvā-grāma* situated in the *pattalā* of *Asamaka*. A *pattalā* was a territorial unit of the type of the Pargana of today. The identification of the localities is uncertain. The gift was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at *Vārāṇasī*.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Rālhanaśarmaṇ who belonged to the Sāṅkṛitya *gotra* and the Sāṅkṛitya, Āngirasa and Gaṇarvīta *pravara*. He was the son of Vālhana and grandson of Bhīma. All the three persons are called *Tivādī* which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit *Tripāṭhī* meaning 'familiar with the three *pāṭhas*, (viz. *saṁhitā*, *pāda* and *krama*). The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of U. P. The honorific *śrī* is prefixed to the names of Rālhanaśarmaṇ and his father Vālhana. Its absence with the name of Rālhana's grandfather Bhīma probably suggests that he was dead at the time of the grant.

¹ As indicated above (p. 202, note 6), like the versified introductory part, the prose section introducing the donor is different in the two Chandravati plates of Vikrama 1150 and 1156. The grant of Vikrama 1150 reads: *śōṇyam narapati-mukuta-makarikā-marakata-prabhā-pātala-pāṭhikā-pāda-piṭhō gajapati-gala-garjita-pralaya-pañchānana-triśatropati-kopata-pāṭana-krakacha-pāṭak-chapala-pañchāla-chāla-chumbana-chapa-cha-mrāhāṇō giripati-piṇḍa-piṇḍa-chauda-mārutab kavallita-kali-kāla-kopata-piṭakō nirvāna-pathika-lōpaka-darśanah samadhiḡata-sakala-darśana-svara-sapāṭala-jñāna-sampad-vijita-muni-mandapittir-āśrayah śrīyasmā-ākaraḥ sarva-vijyānām-ālayah kalānām-ādharah evāmi-sampadām paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-niḡa-bhoj-ōpārjita-śrī-Kanyakubj-ādhipatiya-śrīmadh-Chandradityadēvō vijayī.*

The grant of Vikrama 1156, which omits four verses in the versified introduction as already noted above, has '*krakacha-piṭhō nirvāna*' and '*lōpaka-darśanah paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and thus omits a number of passages. This record exhibits an attempt to shorten the rather lengthy introduction in both the sections in verse and prose as found in the charter of Vikrama 1150.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE I

No. 1—Grant of Govindachandra, Vikrama 1196

[illegible]

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Scale: Two-fifths

No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

This is a *single plate*¹ having writing only on one side. It measures 48 cm. in length and 38 cm. in height, though its weight is not recorded. There is a hole, disturbing the continuity of line 1, about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. But there is no seal, for the affixation of which the hole was no doubt made. There are only 30 lines of writing in the inscription.

The charter bears the date: Vikrama 1217, Chaitra-vadi 11, Wednesday, Mina-sākrānti, both in words and figures (line 18). This date regularly corresponds to the 22nd February 1161 A. D.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Gāhādavāla king Vijayachandra on the date mentioned above. The king is stated to have made the grant after having taken his bath in the Ganges at its confluence with the Kālīnadi at his camp-residence lying to the west of Khōḍa (*Khōḍa-pūchima-samācāra*). The Kālī-nadi joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P. The camp of the king was thus a place near Kanauj. The general belief that the name Kālī-nadi is modified from old Kālīndī by Persian writers² is disproved by the inscription under study.

The gift village was Kaṇḍini-grāma situated in the Umbarahāra pattalā (district). The village is stated to have been granted along with its pāṭakas. The word pāṭaka (modern pāṭā) means a group of houses in a village. The names of the pāṭakas or hamlets are given in the inscription as Kaṭavali, Vanastri(ī), Ustari and Pauravali. I am not sure about the identification of the localities. The name of Umbarahāra-pattalā reminds us of Umbarāla-pattalā of an inscription of Gōvīndachandra.³

The donee of the grant was the Brāhmana Thakkura Māhapaśarman who was the son of Thakkura Gaṅgadhara and grandson of Thakkura Lakṣmīdhara and belonged to the Vata gōtra and the five pravaras, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. The nature of the gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes like bhōga, bhōga, kara, pramayikara and yamalikāmbali. Of these, pramayikara is the same as or a mistake for pravayikara discussed above. Yamalikāmbali seems to be a corruption of yamala-kambali meaning the tax for the possession of a pair of choice bullocks and may be compared with the levy called tara-balivarda mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions.⁴

The charter was written by Thakkura Śrīpatika (Śrīpati) who is known from many inscriptions of Gōvīndachandra and Jayachandra as well as from a spurious grant⁵ of Vijayachandra himself. He is often endowed with the official designation Mahākṣapatalika.

¹ It is No. A 90 of Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1900-01.

² The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 309.

³ Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 139, text line 11.

⁴ See ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 28.

⁵ See above, pp. 153 ff. All the six charters of Jayachandra edited below (Nos. 3-8) were written by the same person.

TEXT¹

- 14 * śrīmad-Vijayachandradēvō vijayī || || Umva(mba)rahāra-pa-
- 15 [tta]lāyārī sa-pātaka-Karṇḍīni-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-apy cha
rāja-rājūl-yuvarāja-mantri-prorūhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākṣhapāṭalika-lakṣha-
nāi-
- 16 mittik-īntakpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattar-ākaraśthāna-gokul-śchikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati
vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīśati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavātām yathā-āpari-likhita-grāmaḥ
Kaśavali
- 17 [Vanaśrī ?] Ustari [Pau]śavali śtari saha sa-jala-śthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matayākaraḥ-
sa-gartī-śaharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhuk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-trīpa-yūti-
gūchāra-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(nidhv-ā)kṣas-chatur-āghāṭa-
- 18 visu(āu)dūhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ saptadasō(ā-ō)ttara-dvādasa(śa)-[śa*]ta-
samvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-kriṣṇa-pakṣē śkādasyām(āyām) tithau Vu(Bu)-
dha-dīna(nē) añkatō-pi samvat 1217 Chaitra-vadi 11 Vō(Bu)dhē mīna-gatē
savitari ady-ēha Khōḍa-pāchima-samāvāṣē
- 19 Kālī-nadi-sa[ni]gamē Gaṅgāyānī anātvā vidhiraṇ-mamtra-dēva-muni-manuja-lhūta-
pitri-gaṇān=tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pātana-paṇa-mahasam-Ushparōchisham-upasthāy-
(r=An)chadhipatisākalaśchā(śekha)raḥ-
- 20 sa[ma]bhār[ca]chyā(bhyarchhya) tri-bhuvana-trāta[r]-Vvāundvaya pājām vidhāya prachura-
pāyocna havishā Havirbhujarḥ butvā mātā-pitṛō-ātmanai-cha puṇya-yatō-bhividdha-
yō=anābhīr-ggōkarṇa-kūśa-latā-pūta-kara-
- 21 tal-ōdaka-pūrvakam Vatsa-gotrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnavāno-[An]r[ya]va-Jāmad-
gonyā-paṇcha-pravarāya śhakkura-śrī-Lakṣmīkṣhara-pastrāya śhakkura-śrī-Gaṇgūdhara-pu-
trāya śhakkura-śrī-Māhagaṇa(śa)rmmaḥ Vā(Brā)hmaspāya chandr-āṅkaraḥ
- 22 yāvach-chāsanikṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-lhōga-kara-pramaṇikara-yama-
likāmva(mba)li-prabhṛti-nyat-āniyata-samaat-ādāyān-ājñā-vidhāyibhāya dāyath-ēti ||
|| bhavasti(nti) [ch]-ātṛ
- 23 ślōkāḥ
- 30 || chha* || likhitaṁ ch-ōdam tāvra(mru)kaṁ śhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatikēn-ēti || chha* ||
maṅgala[m] mahā-śrīḥ ||

¹ From inked impressions.² Verses 1-12 discussed in our introductory remarks, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are engraved in lines 1-14.³ Śandhi has not been observed here.⁴ This is generally found elsewhere as prasastikam.⁵ The following imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 23-30: Bhāṣik paś prastigrahāt, etc.; Śamāntam śhadr-śamam, etc.; Śarada-śān-śāśinā, etc.; Arund-śamā prastigrahāt, etc.; Bahubhīr-vana-śhā śhakti, etc.; Gita-śān śarada-śāśin-ān, etc.; Tufāpān śhakti, etc.; Śva-dān śarada-śāśin-ān, etc.; Śhakti śarada-śāśin-ān, etc.; Śrī-śhakti-śarada-śāśin-ān, etc.; Śva-śān śhakti, etc.; Śva-śān śhakti, etc.⁶ This is a symbol indicating the completion of a section of the composition.

No. 3—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate¹ measuring 62 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height and having writing on one side only. There is a hole (about 2.5 cm. in diameter) about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. This disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3. The weight of the plate has not been recorded. There are altogether 33 lines of writing in the inscription. The seal is missing.

The date of the charter is quoted in line 22 in both words and figures. It is Vikrama 1232, *Āsvina-sudi 14, Monday*. The year has to be regarded as current and the date apparently corresponds to Monday the 29th September 1175 A.D., though the *nīthi* in question really fell on the following day. As will be seen below, several other charters were issued by the king on the same day in favour of the donee of the grant under study.

It is stated that the Gāhadevāla king Jayachandra granted a village on the above date on the occasion of the *jāt-otsava* of Mahārājaputra Hariśchandrādēva. The gift village was Chandavaka, though the *pattalā* or Pargana in which it was situated is not mentioned. But reference has been made to certain *pāṭakas* or hamlets of the village. Their names appear to be Kṣāvaka, Payaniyā, Rātu and Gudērā. These places cannot be located with precision.

The donee of the grant was Mahāśāndhivagrāhika Bhāṇḍāgārīka Raviḍhara of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was the son of Mālādharasarma and the grandson of Gaḍgādharaśarma.² He was therefore an officer of the king in charge of foreign relations as well as of the royal treasury or store-house. It will be seen below that all the grants of Jayachandra edited here (Nos. 3-8) were made in favour of this person, though the records of the following year (V. S. 1233; cf. Nos. 5-8) call him Rātu instead of Mahāśāndhivagrāhika Bhāṇḍāgārīka. The donee was entitled to collect all the regular and irregular taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravaṇikara* and *yamali*. Of these, *yamali* is of course the same as *yamalikūmbali* explained above.

The charter was written by Mahākṣhapatalika Thakkura Śrīpati who was also the writer of No. 2 edited above, Nos. 4-7 edited below and a number of other Gāhadevāla charters.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the *jāt-otsava* of king Jayachandra's son Mahārājaputra Hariśchandra, as the occasion of the grant. The expression *jāt-otsava* no doubt means the festival relating to the prince's birth. This reminds us of two other grants made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* (ceremony at birth) and *nāma-karṇa* (naming ceremony) of the same Hariśchandra.

It is well known that the Kamauli plate³ of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-vadi 8, Sunday (the 10th August 1175 A.D.) records a grant made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* of Rājaputra Hariśchandrādēva after the donor had taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Kālī (i.e. Vārāṇasī) in favour of Purūṣhita Praharājāsarma who was apparently the priest

¹ It is No. A 91 of A. R. Ep., 1900-51.

² This Gaḍgādhara seems to be identical with the Brāhmana of the same name mentioned in No. 2.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 127, text lines 20-24: *Samest 1232 Bhādra-vadi 8 Ravana Kālyāṇa rājaputra-ut-Hariśchandrādēva-jātakarmān Gaḍgādhara śāstā.....nāmābhīṣṭa purūṣhita-ut-Praharājāsarmas Brāhmanas.....* *pradattāḥ*. The expression *śāstā* seems to have been omitted from the context through oversight.

officiating in the prince's birth-rite.¹ The Sihvar plate² of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-sudi 13, Sunday the 31st August 1175 A. D.), likewise records a grant on the occasion of the *nāma-karaya* of *Rājaputra* Hariśchandra made by the king after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in avour of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Hrishikēśakarma. Hrishikēśa was no doubt a scholar patronised by the Gāhaḍavāla king and officiated in the naming ceremony and suggested the name of the prince.

It is generally believed, on the basis of these two records, that Hariśchandra was born on the 10th August 1175 A.D. and that his *nāma-karaya* or naming ceremony was performed after three weeks on the 31st August. Of course there is a good deal of discrepancy in the views of ancient Indian authorities as regards the time when the *nāma-karaya* should be performed. Some of them favour the date of the birth of a child for the purpose and some others prefer the 10th or 12th day after the birth or any auspicious day, *tithi* or *nakshatra* thereafter, i.e. on a later date, while another group of writers prescribe for the *nāma-karaya* the 16th or 18th day after the birth though there are also views that it should be done after the passing of a hundred nights or a month or a year.³ Thus the performance of *nāma-karaya* on the 21st day after the birth of prince Hariśchandra is not unjustifiable. But the mention of the name Hariśchandra in the grant issued on the 10th August on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* or birth-ceremony seems to suggest that the *nāma-karaya*, on the occasion of which a charter was issued on the 31st August, was really performed on the date of the prince's birth on an earlier date. This seems to be supported by the present grant which has the passage: *Saṁvat 1232 Āvina-sudi 14 Soma-ady-ṭha mahārājaputra-īri-Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-ṭhanā..... amābhā..... mahāśāndhivigrahika-mānūgārika-īri-Ravidhara..... pradattaḥ*.⁴ Since the date falls on the 29th September 1175 A.D., i.e. 50 days after the 10th August and 29 days after the 31st August, it cannot be regarded as a celebration performed a month or several months or a year after the birth of Hariśchandra. Thus the *jāt-ṭhanā* seems to indicate the festival held on the occasion of the prince's birth, though the grant was made several weeks after the date. This makes it doubtful whether the prince's birth took place on the 10th August 1175 A.D. or on an earlier date.

It will be seen that while the grant on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* was made in favour of the *Purohita* (i.e. the priest of the king) and that in connection with the *nāma-karaya* to a *Mahāpaṇḍita* (learned Brāhminya of the royal court), who no doubt officiated in the respective rites, the present grant was made in connection with the birth festival in favour of a royal officer who apparently did not take part in the *jāta-karma* and *nāma-karaya* rites. But, as will be seen below, No. 4 seems to suggest that Ravidhara, the donee of the present charter, presented three bejewelled amulets to the newly born prince.

Ravidhara may have been a favourite of the king since all the six grants of Jayachandra published here (Nos. 3-8) were issued in his favour on two different dates, Nos. 3-4 on one date and Nos. 5-8 on another. It is, however, interesting to note that the *jāt-ṭhanā* of Hariśchandra is mentioned as the occasion of the grant only in the present record (No. 3) and not even in No. 4 though Nos. 3 and 4 were issued on the same date. Whether this means that the villages granted by means of some of these records were really purchased by Ravidhara from the Gāhaḍavāla monarch cannot be determined without further evidence.

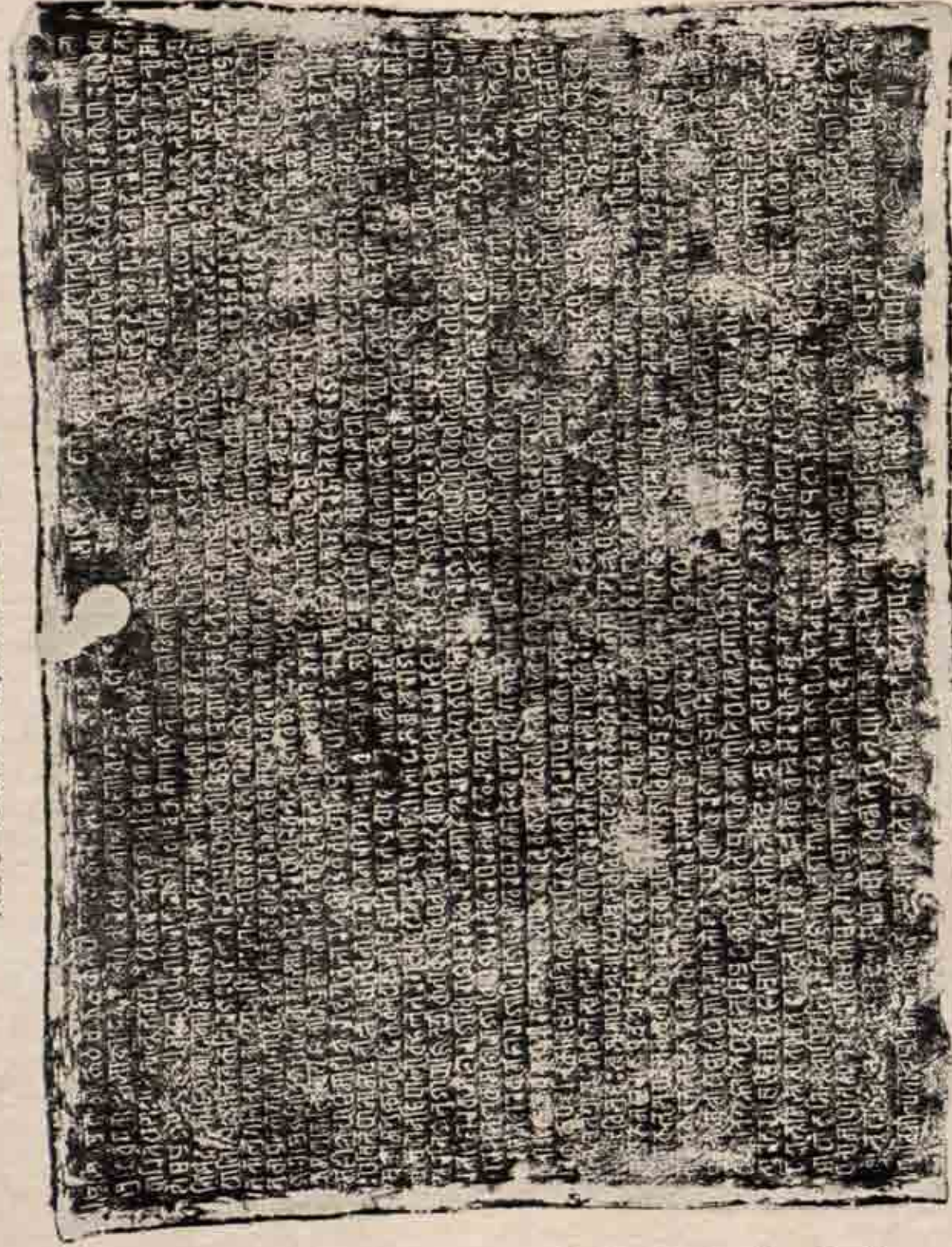
¹ Another grant made by the king in a priest's favour is recorded in a Kanauj plate (above, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21), according to which he gave a village to Rājaputra Mahāpaṇḍita Pratikṣakarma on the 21st June 1270 A.D. after performing *montra-sūtra* for his *śāśikēśa* at his camp at Vajavāna-grāma.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 131, text lines 24-25: *Saṁvat 1232 Bhādra-sudi 13 Rāma-ady-ṭha śrīmad-eyoga-Vārāṇasīya Ganga-tāpāśana-sūtra..... amābhā..... mahāpaṇḍita-īri-Hrishikēśakarma Brāhminya rāja-putra-īri-Hariśchandra-nāma-karaya..... pradattaḥ*.

³ Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 234, 235 ff.

⁴ The expression *śrīmad-Śāśikēśa-sūtra* seems to have been omitted through oversight. Cf. No. 4 (text line 23) issued in favour of the same donee on the same date, though it does not mention any occasion like Hariśchandra's *jāt-ṭhanā* as in the present grant.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE II
No. 3—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

Scale: Two-fifths

TEXT¹

- 18²śrīma]-Jayachchandrādēvō vijayī ||
- 19 || || [Kēśavaka-Payanīyī-Rāta-Gudērāra]³ sa-pāṭaka-Chandavaka-grāma
nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājūḥ-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-
pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgā-
- 20 rik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākerasthāna-
gōkul-ādihikāri-purushān-ā[jā]paya[tī] vō(bō)dhā[ya]ty-ādīśati cha viditam-a[stu]
bhavataḥ yath-ōpari-
- 21 likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lanḥa-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sasma[t*]sy-ākara[h] sū(sa)-gattēkhi
(rtt-ōsa)rah sa-gū[ri-ga]bana-nidhānaḥ sa-ma[dhō]k-[ā]mra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tripa-
yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ārddhā(rdh-ā)dhā[s*]=chatu-
- 22 [r-āghā]ṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ || dayastriśnavadhika⁴-dvādaśa-[sa(śa)]-
ta-sa[m*]vatsa[r]ē Āśvina-māsē śukla-paksha-chatu[rddasyām(śyām)] t[ī]thau
Sō[ma]-dinē a[m]kē-pi samvat 1232 Āśvina-sudi 14 Sōmē ||
- 23 ady-ēha mahārājaputra-śrī-Hariśchandraida(ndradē)va-jāt-ō[tsavō] vidhi[va*]n-ma[m*]-
tra-dēva-muni-manoja-[bhū]ṭa-pītri-gavā[im-ta]r*[[ppa]pitrā t[i]m[i]ra-pa[ṭa]la-pāṭana-
paṭu-mahasam-Ushurā(śhārō)chishamasha(m-upa)s[th]āyām(y-Aa)chadhipa-
- 24 [ti]śakaladapa(śakha)raṁ samabhyarchya tri-bhuvā[na]-trātu[r]-Vābhu(su)dēvaaya pūjā-
[m*] vidhāya prachura-pāyaseṇa haviṣā Havirbhujam hutvā mātē-pītrōr-ātmanas-cha
puṇya-yaśō-bhivriddhayē asmābhīr-ggō[ka]raṇa-kuśa-la-
- 25 tā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakam ||⁵ Vatsa-gōtrāya Gatigādharasa(śa)mmāṇa[h*]
pauṭrāya Mālādharaśa(śa)mmāṇa[h*] putrāya [mahā]śāmdhivigrahika-bhāṇḍi[dā]gārika-
śrī-Ravidharāya chandir-ārka[m*] yāvach-chhāsan[ī]kritya
- 26 pradattō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravanikara-ja(ya)mali-prabhriti-niyat-
āniyata-samast-ādāyān-ājñā-vidhēyibhūya dāsyath-ōtī || || bhavanti ch=
- ātra ślōkāḥ ||...⁶
- 33likhitam ch-ōdam tānra-paṭṭakam mahākshapaṭalika-thakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhūḥ
||⁷ ||⁸ ||⁹

¹ From inked impressions.² Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in lines 1-18.³ These appear to be the names of the pāṭakas of Chandavaka-grāma. The intended reading was probably *rā-dikya-pāṭakāḥ saha.⁴ Read śastriśnavadhika.⁵ The mark of punctuation is redundant.⁶ The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 26-33 are: Bhāṇḍam yuḥ pratigrhēdī, etc.; Śam-
bhak bhadr-āstam, etc.; Śāśvāṇa curata-sāvaratī, etc.; Ratābhīr-śāśvāṇa bhāṇḍa, etc.; Gāma-śāśvāṇa curata-
śam cha, etc.; Śam-duttāṇa para-duttāṇa vā, etc.; Tādāśāśvāṇa bhāṇḍa, etc.; Vāṭ-śāśvāṇa bhāṇḍa, etc.;
Sardā-śāśvāṇa bhāṇḍa, etc.; Yav-ūṇa dattāṇa, etc.⁷ There is the figure of a conch-shell here.⁸ A floral design is engraved here.⁹ There is a lotus engraved at this place.

No. 4—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate¹ measuring 48 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. It has writing only on one side. In general appearance, the plate looks like Nos. 1-3 edited above. There is no seal, though there is a hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the upper part near the top margin and it disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2. The inscription contains 34 lines of writing.

The date of the charter, quoted in both words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as that of No. 3, viz. Vikrama 1232, Āvina-mūdi 14, Monday, corresponding to the 29th September 1175 A.D.

The grant is stated to have been made by the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra after having taken a bath at a locality or in a tank called *Edakupḍi*. The gift village, viz. *Avālu-grāma*, was given together with its *pāṭaka* though the *pattalā* in which it was situated is not mentioned. I am not sure about the location of the village or the place whence the charter was issued.

The donee is the same as in No. 3, viz. *Mahāsāndhivagrohika Bhūyāgūrīka Ravidhara* (written wrongly as *Rādharā*) of the *Vatas* gōtra, who was the son of *Nalādharaśarma* and grandson of *Gaṅgādharaśarma*. The nature of the grant was permanent and the donee was entitled to realise such regular and irregular taxes as *bhūga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *prasaṅgikara* and *gunuli* (i.e. *gunalikṣantā*) explained above).

There is a passage in line 26, which seems to suggest that *Ravidhara* offered three *mudrā* decked with diamonds and rubies and that the grant was made in his favour in that connection (i.e. in response to that act). The word *mudrā* is apparently used in the sense of *mudrikā* or *mudrā* meaning 'signet ring', 'a coin', 'a medal', etc. It is not impossible that *Ravidhara* presented three amulets to the newly born prince *Harichandra* and received the village from the king in return.

The charter was written by *Śrīpati* already known from Nos. 2-3 above and a number of other records of Gāhaḍavāla kings including Nos. 5-7 below.

TEXT:

- 18 'rīma] Jayachandradēvō vijay! || || sa cha [sa]-
 19 [māta-mā] 'sa-pāṭaka-'Avālu-grāma-nivāsino nikhila-janapaddā(dā)ṇa-upagatān
 'api cha rāja-rājñi-yavarāja-mam(ma)ntri-purā(rō)[hi]ta-patthāra-sānāpa-
 20 ti-bhāṣṭhāgārīka-ākṣapatalika-bhishag-mimittik-āntahpurika-d[ū]ta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākara-
 sthāna-g[ō]kul-ādihikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīkati cha vidi-
 21 tam-satu bhavatām yath-[ō]pari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-ja[la-sthalah] sa-l[ōha]-javan-ākaraḥ
 sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gu[r*]ti-dāva(sha)[raḥ] sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-[ma]dhok-āmra-
 vana-vāṭikā-vi-

¹ It is No. A 92 of A. R. Ep., 1900-01.

² From inked impressions.

³ Lines 1-18 contain verses 1-14 followed by a passage in prose, both discussed in our introductory remarks.

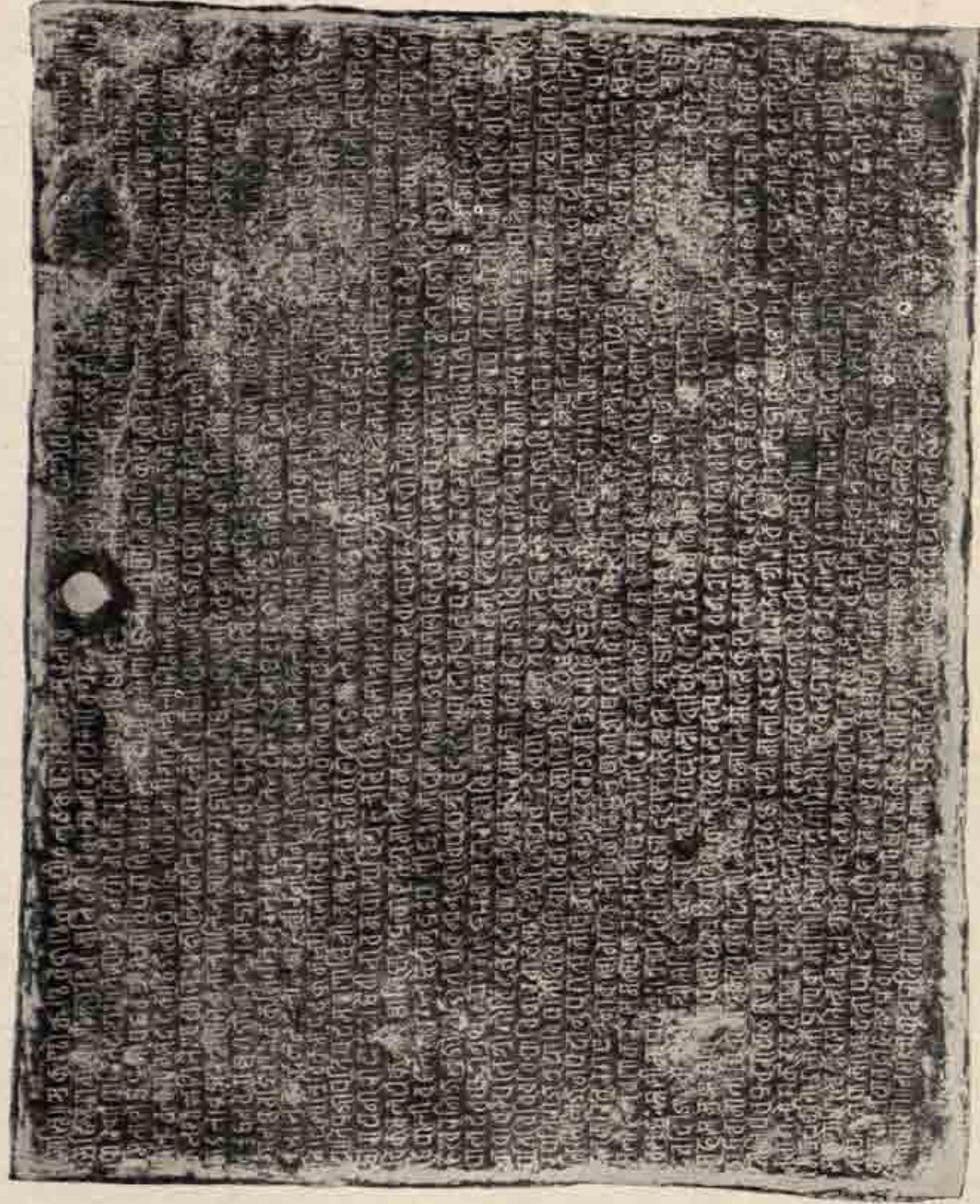
⁴ These six redundant akṣaras were wrongly incised. The intended expression here seems to be *sumasta-rāja-chakras-mukhila-chakras*.

⁵ The akṣaras wrongly engraved here are completely rubbed off.

⁶ *Sundā* has not been observed here.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE III

No. 5—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1233



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

Scale: Two-fifths

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

- 22 *śapa-ṭṭiṇa-yūti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ* **ś(r)hv-ādhāś-chatu[r]āghāṣa-viśuddhaḥ* *ś(v)a-simā-*
paryantaḥ *dvaya[tr]iśad'-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-smvatsarē* * *Āvinē māśē* |
[ś]ukla-pakṣe | *chaturdaśyām*
- 23 *tithau* | *Sōma-dinē* | *amkē-pi* *sa[m]vat 1[2]3[2]* *Ājvina-audi 14* *Sōmē* || *ady-ēha*
śrimad-Ēda[kum]dyām | *snātva* *vidhivan-ma[m*]tra-dēva-muni-manuṣya-bh[ū]ta-pitri-*
ganāna-tarpyayitvā (tvā) *timira-pātala-*
- 24 *pātana-paṭu-mahasam-Ushparōchipa(sha)m-u* [paethāy=Av] *śhadhipatiśakalaśaśa(śekha)-*
ra[m] *śamabhya[re]chya* | *tri[bhuva]na-trātar-Vāsudēvasya pūjām* *vidhāya* *prachura-*
pāyasa(śa)ma *havipā(śhā)* *Havir[bhu]jam*
- 25 *kutvā* *mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha* *pu[ṇya]-ya[śō]-bhūtri(vr)ddhaya[ś]* | *[a]śamābhira-gg[ō]-*
karuṇa-kūśa-latā-pūta-karatal-ṭ[ō]da[kā]-pūrvvakam || *Vatva-gōtrāya* *Gagrā(ōgā)-*
dharasa(śa)rumalē(ṇa) *pantrāya* *Ma(Mā)lā(dharasa(śa))-*
- 26 *emmapē(śa)* *putrāya mahāśāndhivigra[h]ika-bhāṣṭjāgā[rika]-śri-Rōdharāya* * *hīrē* * *māpikya-*
lagna-muddhī * *traya-datta* * *śamvadha(odhē)* *chandr-ārka[m]* *yāvach-ohhāsanikṛitya*
pracha(da)ttō *matyā* (tvā) *[yathā-dīya]*
- 27 *māta(na)-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravāṇikara-ja(ya)mali-prabhīṭi-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān-*
ājñā-vidhēyibhūya dāsyath-ēti || *bhavanti* *ch-ātra* *ślōkā[h]*'
- 34 *likhitam* *ch-ēdam* *pa[ṭṭa]kam* *mah[ākṣapa]luka* {*Śrīpatibhi*}

No. 5—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

The inscription* is written on one side of a single plate measuring 51 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. There is a hole in the centre of the top part of the inscription near the upper margin, though there is no seal. The hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) has disturbed the continuity of writing in lines 1-2. There are altogether 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the grant, quoted in words and figures in lines 24-25, is **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday**. This date regularly corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The Gāhadavala king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called **Khavaḍayi-grāma**, situated in the **Dirghōdaya pattanā**, together with its hamlets, on the date indicated above, after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārānasi**. The identification of both the district and the village is uncertain, though the name **Dirghōdaya** reminds us of **Dighwa-Dubauli** in the **Saran District of Bihar**.

The donor was the same as in Nos. 3-4, viz. **Ravidhara** who was the son of **Thakkura Malladhara** and grandson of **Thakkura Gaṅgādhara** and belonged to the **Vatva gōtra** and the five **pravarnas**, viz. **Bhārgava**, **Chyavana**, **Āpnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya**. He was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes such as **bhāga**, **bhōga**, **kara** and **pravaṇikara**.

* Read *śrīśimad*.

* The punctuation mark here as well as elsewhere in this line and the following one is unnecessary.

* Possibly the scribe intended to write *Nandharipa* for Sanskrit *Ravidhara*.

* The correct word is *śrīśimad* meaning 'a diamond', Cf. *śrī* in Hindi, etc.

* The intended word is *śrīśimad* used in the sense of *śrīśimad* or *śrīśimad*.

* The word more suitable to the context here is *dāni* or *dāna*.

* Lines 27-34 contain the following benedictory and imprecatory verses: *Bhūmim yaś prastigrihāṣti*, etc.; *Śamāśim bhadr-darśan*, etc.; *Śamāśim śrīśimad-sukarāni*, etc.; *Bhadrāśim-varmāśa śrīśimad*, etc.; *Nimāśim maraṇaśim-cha*, etc.; *Śrīśimad-paśa-dāni*, etc.; *Tuṣṭiśimad-sukarāni*, etc.; *Vat-śimad-sukarāni*, etc.; *Śrīśimad-sukarāni*, etc.; *Vat-śimad-sukarāni*, etc.

* This is No. A' 93 of A. K. Ep., 1900-01.

It is interesting to note that the same Ravidhara is called *Maṇḍāndhīnagrahika Bhāṇḍāgārika* in Nos. 3-4, but a *Rāuta* in the present record as well as in Nos. 6-7. *Rāuta* is merely a title of nobility and it is not improbable that Ravidhara retired before the date of the present charter and was no longer an officer of the king.

Like most of the other charters of Jayachchandra edited here, the present grant was written by *Mahākshapatalika Thakkura Sripati*.

TEXT¹

- 20² śrīmaḥ Jayachchandraśvō vijayi || || Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyāṁ |³ sa-pūṣaka-
Khavaḍḍayi-grāma-nivāsīnō
- 21 nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mamtri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-
bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-
- 22 dūta-kari-taraga-pattan-ākarnasthāna-gōkul-ādihikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-
ādīāti |cha| viditān-astu bhavātām yath-ōpati-likhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ
- 23 sa-tōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matry-ākaraḥ sa-garti-ōkaraḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madh[ū]-
l-ānra-vana-vālikā-viṭapa-tripa-yūti-gō[cha]ra-paryantāḥ =ōrdhva-ādhaḥ-chatur-āghāta-
- 24 visu[an]jiddhāḥ sva-simā-paryantāḥ |⁴ traysa[ḥ] |trīman[sa]d-ādihika-dvādaśa-śata-
samva[satva]tsarē āshāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣē amāvāsyāyām tithau Ravi-
dinē ankatō-pi samva[satva]t 1233 āshā-
- 25 dha-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ōha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāpasvā(syām) Gaṇḍāyā[ri] snātvā
vaidhavan-mahitra-dēva-muni-manujs-bh[ū]ta-p[ri]t[ri]-gopātho-tarppayitvā timira-patala-
pātana-paṭu-
- 26 mahasam-Udharūchisham-upasthāy-Anshadhipatisakalāḥ(ō)kharām samahhyarchebhya tri-
bhuvana-trātur-bhagavatō Vāmalēvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā
Havirbhu-
- 27 jam butvā mātē-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha punya-yaso(ō)bhuvriddhayē samāhhriggōkarṇa-
kula-latē-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakām Vata-gotrāya Bhārgava-Chyavan-Āpoavan-
Aurva-Yā(Jā)mada-
- 28 any-ēti-pa[ra]ḥ |cha-pravarāya thakkura-śrī-Gaṇḍādhara-putrāya thakkura-śrī-Mādhara-
putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvach⁵-chhōsanikṛitya pradattō matvā
yathā-dīyamā-
- 29 na-bhāga - bhāga-kara - pravaṇikam - prabhṛiti-miya-āniyata-samast : ādāyān-ājñā-
vidhāyibhūya dāsyath-ēti || || bhavanti ch-ātra ślokāḥ |⁶
- 34 likhitaṁ ch-ōdam tāmra-pattakam mahākshapatalika-thakkura-śrī-Sripatibhir-ēti ||

¹ From inked impressions.

² Verses 1-14 discussed in our introductory remarks followed by the usual passage in prose occur in lines 1-20.

³ The *dispa* is redundant.

⁴ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁵ The word *yāvach* is redundant.

⁶ The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are found in lines 29-34 : *Bhāmin yāḥ praharanti, etc.* ; *Sambhūta bhūta-dimāna, etc.* ; *Shashthi sarabha-samarāṭi, etc.* ; *Bakulāra-sarabha bhukā, etc.* ; *Sa-dantā para-dantā vā, etc.* ; *Gām-śāka-sarabha-śāka cha, etc.* ; *Vīri-dānta-sarabha, etc.* ; *Yān-śāka-dānta, etc.*

No. 6—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate¹ measuring 52 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height and bearing writing on one side only. There is no seal; but a hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) is there about the centre of the upper part near the top margin. The hole disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-2. There are in all 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the charter, quoted in words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as in No. 5, viz. Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of the village called Saratavāḍa-grāma, together with its hamlets such as Tēṇu and Āmī (or Tēṇāmī), situated in the Dīrghōdaya pattalā, already known from No. 5. The location of the village is uncertain.

It is stated that the Gāhādavāla king Jayachandra made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on the date indicated above, in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-5, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādihara and grandson of Thakkura Gaṅgādihara and belonged to the Vata gōtra and the Bhūrgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Anrva and Jāmadagnya pravaras. As in No. 5, the donee was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes including bhūga, bhōga, kara and pravāṇikara.

As will be seen, Nos. 5 and 7-8 also record grants issued by Jayachandra in favour of the same donee on the same date. We know that often a king recorded the gift of several villages in favour of a particular person in a single charter.² It is therefore difficult to explain why the donation of the three villages in favour of Rāuta Ravidhara was not registered in one copper-plate grant. It may, however, be conjectured that the gift of three villages was recorded in this case in three different plates as a mark of favour to the donee who could then send a charter separately to the gift village concerned for taking possession of it for the realisation of taxes, as otherwise he would have to take possession of the villages one after the other.

The grant was written by Mahāśakapatalika Thakkura Śripati as is the case with most of the other inscriptions published in this paper.

TEXT³

- 18⁴ śrīmaḥ Jayachandradēvō
 19 vijayaḥ || || Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyām⁵ |⁶ rīṣ(Tō)ṭu-Āmī-⁷prabhṛiti-pāṭakēḥ(kālī) saha⁸
 Saratavāḍa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājāt-yuvarāja-
 maṇtri-purō-
 20 hita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmāḍgārik-āśakapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika - dāta-kari-
 toraga-pattān-ākarnasthāna-gōkul-ādīkārī-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhajya⁹ | ty-ādīṣa-
 21 ti cha viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-javaṇ-
 ākaraḥ sa-nīlāy-ākaraḥ sa-garī-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-
 vātikā-

¹ It is No. A 94 of A. R. Ep., 1960-61.

² For grants made on different dates in favour of different persons but recorded in a single charter, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-45.

³ From inked impressions.

⁴ Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by the usual passage in prose, are found in lines 1-18.

⁵ The donee is unnecessary.

⁶ There may also be a single name here, viz. Tēṇāmī.

⁷ Read "pōṭak-yaṭm".

- 22 vijaya-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā) dhas=chatur-āghāta-viśuddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ | traya[s*]tri[m]sa(sa) d-adhika-dvādasa(āa)-śata-samva(sarhva)-tsarē Ashāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣhē ā(a)māvāsya-yām ti-
- 23 śhaṇu Ravi-dinē aṅkatō-pi samvata(sarhvat) 1233 Ashāḍha-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyām Gaṇigāyām anātvā vidhivanman(n-ma)utra-dēva-muni-mauja-bhūti(ṭa)-pīṭi-gaṇm=tarppayitvā
- 24 timira-pātala-pātana-paṇu-mahasam-Ushparōchisham=upasthāy-Anushadhipatiśakalāśēkha-raṇ samabhyarchhya tri-bhuvana-trāṭur-bhagavatō Vāsudēvasya pūjā[m*] vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna ha-
- 25 viśhā Havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-bhivriddhayō amābhīr-ggōkarṇa-kṛisā-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakam Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurva-Yā(Jā)-
- 26 madagny-ēti-pachcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-ēri-Ga[m]gādharma-pantrāya ṭhakkura-ēri-Mālā-dhara-putrāya rāṭa-ēri-Ravidharāya ā-chandr-ārka[m] yāvach¹=chhāsanikṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-diya-
- 27 māna-bhāga-bhāga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-nyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān-ājnū-vidhōyī-bhūya dāsyath=ēti || bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ ||²
- 34 likhitam c(h)=ādant tānra-pattakam mahākshapatalika-ṭhakkura-ēri-Śrīpati-bhir=iti ||

No. 7—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a *single plate*¹ measuring 55 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. The inscription is written on one side of the plate and there are only 34 lines of writing. There is no seal attached to the plate, though there is a hole in the central part of the upper section near the top margin. The hole (2.41 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3.

The date of the grant, as quoted in lines 22-23 in both words and figures, is the same as in Nos. 5-6. It is **Vikrama 1233, Ashāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday**, corresponding to the **29th May 1177 A.D.** On the said date, the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachandra** is stated to have made a grant after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī**.

The gift village was **Vaḍahōsa-grāma**, *Vaḍa-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the bigger Hōsa' which reminds us of **Mañjhī-hōsa** or 'the middle Hōsa' of No. 8. The village, which was given along with its *pāṭakas*, was situated in the **Mañjhōha pattalā**. I am uncertain about the location of the village; but **Mañjhōha-pattalā** may be the present **Majhwa Taluk** of the **Mirzapur District**, **U. P.**

The grant was made in favour of the donees of Nos. 3-6, viz. **Rāṭa Ravidhara** who was the son of **Ṭhakkura Mālādharma** and grandson of **Ṭhakkura Gaṇgādharma** and belonged to the **Vatsa gōtra** and the **Bhārgava**, **Chyavana**, **Āpnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya pravaras**. As in the other grants, he was entitled to enjoy all the fixed and unfixed taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravaṇikara*, etc.

The charter was written by **Mahākshapatalika Ṭhakkura Śrīpati** who was also the writer of Nos. 2-6 and many other Gāhaḍavāla records.

¹ The word *plate* is unnecessary.

² The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-34: *Bhāmāya pūṣṭi-pratigṛhāṇāḥ*, etc.; *Sundhāya śhadr-bhāṇāya*, etc.; *Shakāya mṛgha-sukāraṇāḥ*, etc.; *Bakabhir-mṛghāḥ śhaktā*, etc.; *Śma-dantāḥ para-dā-tāḥ sū*, etc.; *Cham-ēkaḥ svarṇam-ēkaḥ cā*, etc.; *Vāri-śhaktāḥ=granghāḥ*, etc.; *Nā-richam vīkṣam-ēkanta*, etc.; *Tadāpāṇāḥ sukāraṇā*, etc.; *Sarala-śhaktāḥ=vināḥ*, etc.; *Vāi-śhaktāḥ=vināḥ*, etc.

³ It is No. A 95 of *J. R. Ep.*, 1900-01.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

TEXT¹

- 19² śrīmaj-Jayachchandradēvō vijayī || || Mañjhōha-pattalāyām
 {³ sa-pāṭaka-Vaḍahōsa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-jana-
 20 padān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājā-yuvarāja-mahātri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sānāpati-bhām-
 ḍāgarik-ākṣhapasālika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattān-ākaraśhā-
 21 na-gōkul-ādīkārī-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhā[ya*]ty-ādīśati cha viditām-asu bhavatām
 yath-ōpari-likhita-grāmah sa-jala-sihalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-[garit-
 ōsha]-
 22 rah sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triga-yūti-gōchara-
 paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś-chatur-āghāta-visuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | trayartisa-
 (strichā) d-ādika-dvā[daśa-śata-sa]-
 23 mva(mva)tsarē Āshāḍhā māsi su(śu)kha-pakṣhē amāvāsyāryā(yān) tithau Ravi-
 dinē ankatō-pi samvat 1233 Āshāḍa(ḍha)-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ēha śrīmad-vijaya
 Vārāhasyaḥ Gaṇḍāyām smātva [vidhiva]-
 24 n-mamtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇānā-tarppayitrā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭa-
 mahasam-Ushnarōchisham-upasthāy-Aushadhīpatīśakalāśekharam samabhyarchhya
 tri-bhuvana-trātu[r-bhagavatō]
 25 Vāsudēvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujam hutvā mātā-
 pitrōr-āmanas-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhividdhayaś samābhīr-ggōkaruṇa-kṣa-latā-pūta(ta)-
 karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvakam Vata-
 26 gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavan-Āṇavān-Aurva-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṇcha-pravarāya
 ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṇḍādhara-putrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālādhara-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya
 ā-chandrar-ārka[m] yāvach*-chhāsanīkṛitya
 27 [prada]ttō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhīriti-niyat-āniyata-
 samaet-ādāyān-ājñā-vidhōyibhūya dāsva(aya)th-ēti || || bhavanti ch-ātra
 ślōkāḥ ||⁴
 34⁵ likhitaḥ ch-ōḍaḥ tāmra-paṭṭakam mahākaḥa[paṭali]ka-[ṭhakkura-śrī]-
 Śrīpatibhir-īti || }

No. 8—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This inscription⁶ is written on a single plate containing writing only on one side and measuring 54 cm. in length and 44 cm. in height. There is no seal, though there is a hole at the central region of the top part near the upper margin of the plate. The hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of writing in lines 1-3. The number of lines in the inscription is 33.

The date of the grant is recorded, in both words and figures, in lines 23-24. It is the same as in Nos. 6-7, viz. Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday. As already indicated, it corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

On the above date, the Gāhadvāla king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called Mañjhōha-grāma, *Mañji-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the middle Hōsa', i.e. the middle one of the three villages called Hōsa, the two others being 'the big' and 'the small'. The village was given along with its pāṭānas, one of which was called Rōhini. It was situated in the pattalā

¹ From inked impressions.

² Verses 1-14 followed by a prose passage, both discussed in our introductory remarks, occupy lines 1-19.

³ The *śanda* is unnecessary.

⁴ The word *gāt* is not necessary.

⁵ The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 27-34 are: *Bhāmā yāḥ prapīyānti*, etc.; *Sankāsa Madh-śrīman*, etc.; *Shakṣin sūcha-sahasrāni*, etc.; *Bahubhīr-sarvāḥ bhūṭā*, etc.; *Gōm-ghōṣa sargamaśāṣa* cha, etc.; *Sis-dattān pura-dattān vō*, etc.; *Vāri-āntale-arupēṣu* etc.; *Na visham visham-ity-āhu*, etc.; *Tadā-gāṇāni vāhaśvina*, etc.; *Vāi-āhira-vibhramam-śam*, etc.; *Śrurām-ān-āśāmanā*, etc.; *Tam-āḥ dattāni*, etc.

⁶ It is No. A 96 of A. E. Ep., 1960-61.

No. 31—GOLLAVALI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

(Received on 25.11.1959)

This set of copper plates¹ was received by me from the Principal, K. C. G. College, Parlakimedi, who is also the President of the District Regional Survey Committee, Ganjam. The find-spot of the set is not known. It was in the possession of Sri Balaram Patra who is now living at Parlakimedi, though he was a resident of Tekkali about 45 years ago. He had three sets of copper plates with him, two of which were made over to the late Raja Saheb Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb of Tekkali. The present set has recently been purchased by the Permanent Regional Survey Committee, Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are engraved on the inner side only. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The plates measure 7.5" by 2.3" each. The engraved surfaces of the plates have slightly raised rims. They were held together by a ring which is now broken. A seal seems to have been attached to it originally, though there is no trace of it at present. The diameter of the ring-hole in the plates is $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The charter was issued by king Prithivi-mahārāja already known to us from his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant² issued from Pihāpura in his 46th regnal year. R. S. Panchamukhi, who edited the inscription, assigned it to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. and suggested that Prithivi-mahārāja was ousted from Pihāpura by Pulakāśin II (610-42 A. D.). On palaeographical considerations, however, we are inclined to assign the charter under study as well as the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of the same king to the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.³ The characters of the inscription bear close resemblance to those of the Srungavarapukota plates which were published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 ff., and belong to another king of Pihāpura named Anantavarman.⁴

The language of the record is Sanskrit with very few mistakes. The text of the grant is in prose excepting the three verses at the end (lines 16-20).

The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Virajō-nagara by king Prithivi-mahārāja who belonged to the Kāyapa gōtra⁵ and was the dear son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Rapadurjaya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Padmaśarma who was the son of Dāmōdaraśarma and grandson of Mātṛiśarma of the Bhṛigu gōtra and was a student of the Taittiriya śākhā. The gift village was Gollāvali situated in the Kudrāvati viśaya.⁶ He was well-versed in Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures, applied himself constantly to the śāstṛ-karmman and was engaged in yama and niyama. The grant was made on the

¹[This is No. A 58 of A. R. Ep. 1955-56. It was published by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 54-56 and Plates.—Ed.]

²Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 65-96.

³[We find it difficult to agree fully with this view.—Ed.]

⁴[The name of the gōtra appears to be Śrīcīma-Kāyapa.—Ed.]

⁵[See below, p. 223, note 3.—Ed.]

8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jyēṣṭha* in the 49th year of the king's reign (line 14). The *ājāpti* of the grant was *Lānthurāja*.¹

Virajō-nagara, whence the grant was issued, may be identified with *Virajā* in Orissa, i.e. modern *Jāipur* in the Cuttack District. It is mentioned as *Virājā* in the *Sōrō* plate² of *Bhānudatta* (7th century) and as *Virajas* in the *Dhauli* cave inscription³ of the time of *Sāntikara* of the *Bhauma* dynasty. In the *Ganjam* plates⁴ of the time of *Unmattakēśarin*, the same place is mentioned as *Virajas*. It is now generally believed that the capital of the *Bhauma* kings of Orissa was situated at *Jāipur* known in early times as *Virājā*, *Virajas* or *Virajā*.

As regards the long distance between *Jāipur* in Orissa and *Pishtapura* (modern *Pithapuram*) in the East Godavari District, it may be pointed out that the Eastern *Chālukya* king *Vijayāditya IV* of the latter region is known to have captured *Virajāpuri* which has been identified with *Jāipur*.⁵

The following historical facts pertaining to the period and region may be noted. *Anantavarman* of the *Vāsiṣṭha* dynasty whose reign may be assigned to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was ruling from *Pishtapura*. *Prithivivigraha* was ruling in *Kaliṅga* in the year 250 of the Gupta era. *Lōkavigraha* of the *Kanva* plate⁶ of the Gupta year 280 was probably the successor of *Prithivivigraha*; but he does not mention *Kaliṅga* in his grant. He claims to be ruling in *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali*. Absence of any reference to his paternal kingdom is probably due to the fact that he had been dispossessed of it by 600 A.D. The *Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa Tōsali* were under *Māna* rule between the years 260 and 283 of what is assumed to be the Gupta era. *Prithivī-mahārāja*, who is assigned to the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D., was ruling at *Pishtapura* in his 46th year and was at *Virajā* in his 49th year. Evidently he led an expedition to *Virajā*. In the light of the above facts, it can be assumed that *Pishtapura* was conquered by *Prithivī-mahārāja* from *Anantavarman* or his successors and that he led an expedition to the north in his 49th year which may be towards the close of the 8th century or the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since he had to pass through the *Vigraha* kingdom on his way, he would have conquered it. That accounts for the absence of any mention of *Kaliṅga* in the *Kanva* plate of *Lōkavigraha*. As *Prithivī-mahārāja* is assumed to be a contemporary of *Samudragupta* of the *Māna* dynasty who was the master of both the *Tōsali*, he is quite likely to have come in conflict with him. It is probable, in view of any absence of further information about *Prithivī-mahārāja* or his descendants, that it ended disastrously for him. *Māna* rule in northern Orissa comprising the two *Tōsali* probably continued till 605 A.D. when it was ended by the conquest of Orissa by *Śaśāṅka* of *Gauda*.⁷

I am not sure about the location of the village of *Gōllāvalli* and the district in which it was situated.

¹ [The correct reading is *Ścīrāmāṇurāja*.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203. [What N. G. Majumdar read as *Virājā*² is really *Virajō*.—Ed.]

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

⁴ *IHQ*, Vol. XII, p. 492.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 227.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 323.

⁷ [The argument that *Kaliṅga* is not mentioned as the kingdom of *Lōkavigraha* of the *Kanva* plate of 599 A.D., even though it is mentioned as the territory of his predecessor *Prithivivigraha* in the *Samudragupta* plates of 569 A.D., does not take into account a well-known fact of the history of *Kaliṅga*. It is that, from about 497 A.D., the Eastern *Gangas* were ruling from *Kaliṅganagara* with the title *Trikaliṅga-sāhita*. This was apparently the reason underlying the change in the name of the *Vigraha* kingdom from *Kaliṅga* to *Tōsali*, the city of *Tōsali* probably being their capital. Cf. *Srinax, Stud. Geog. Arc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

ii a

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

23

[illegible]

333

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

Size: Actual

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति* [[*] श्रीविजयस्कन्धावारात् विरजोत्तराधिवासकालकजगदवनसमुद्भू-
- 2 तकीर्त्ति(र्त्ति)चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो(द्यो)तितदिगन्तरस्य महाराजरणदुर्जयस्य
- 3 सूनोस्समतिशयितसकविभूतेल्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतन-
- 4 यः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलः निज-
- 5 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतमशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरामः†

Second Plate: First Side

- 6 काश्यप[सगो]त्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानृद्ध्यातः श्री[पुत्रिवी]-
- 7 महाराजः कुद्रावती* विषये गोत्लावल्लीग्राममधिवसतः सर्व्वेस-
- 8 मवेतां(ता)न्कुटुम्बिनः समाज[†]पयति यथा मातृशर्मणः पौत्रा-
- 9 य दामोदरशर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेद[†]ङ्गप[†]रगाय षट्कर्मनिर-
- 10 ताय यमनियमपरायणाय पुराणराभायणधर्मशास्त्रा-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 11 दत्तेकविद्यापारदर्श(शि)ने भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरि(री)य[सब्रह्मचारिणे]
- 12 पद्मशर्मणे ग्रामोपमहमत्पुण्यायुरारोग्यजयमशोभिवृद्धये
- 13 सर्व्वकरणरिहारेणाग्रहारीकृत्य दत्तः [[*] न कैश्चिदपि बाधा क-
- 14 रण(णी)या [†] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस(स)वत्सरे नवाधिकत्त[त्वारि]श(शे)
- 15 जेष्ट(जेष्ठ)मासशुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यां धर्मप्रदानमेतदाजप्तिः श्रीराम[†]

* From the original plates.

* This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the beginning of the third line of the text.

* [See above, p. 221, note 4.—Ed.]

* The reading of the name may also be Kuddharasi. [The correct reading is Kuddharasi.—Ed.]

Third Plate

- 16 लेन्युराजः¹ [1*] अत्र व्यासगीताः श्लो[काः] [1*] [बहुभिर्बुधैः दत्ता बहु]²-
 17 भिद्वानुपालिता [1*] यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]
 18 तदा फलं(लम्) [11 १*] आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः ।]
 19 भूमिजा(दा)ता कृते जातस्त नस्त्राता भविष्यति [11 २*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे]
 20 मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आशेषा चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥३*]

¹ [See above, p. 322, note 1.—Ed.]

² The portion of the plate containing the words shown in brackets in lines 16-20 is broken away and lost.

No. 32—THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OBTACAMUND

(Received on 7-2-1961)

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

The stone slab bearing this epigraph is built into the wall of the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar.¹ There are only sixteen lines in the inscription, covering an area about two feet five and three-fourths inches in length and one foot three inches in height.

The record was briefly noticed by Cunningham in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, pp. 120-21 (No. 6) with an eye-copy in Plate XXXVI. A rough transcript of it, with an inaccurate notice of its contents, appeared in B. D. Banerji's *Pālas of Bengal*, published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (pp. 60-61 and Plate XXIV). But the inscription was never properly edited.

The record refers itself to the reign of king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and resembles other epigraphs of the same monarch as regards palaeography and orthography.² The language of the record is Sanskrit and, barring a passage in prose at the beginning, it is written entirely in verse. It contains a *prastāva* or eulogy composed in thirteen stanzas.

The inscription is dated the Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā day in the seventh regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla (verse 13). The date falls somewhere about the seventh decade of the ninth century A.D.

The inscription begins with the *nīdāham* symbol followed by the passage *Om namah Paru-
ṣhottamāya namah Om* in prose. In this, *Paruṣhottamāya namah* ('obeisance to Paruṣhottama,
i. e. Viṣṇu') is preceded by *Om namah* which is sometimes found at the beginning of inscriptions and may be translated as 'obeisance to Om'.³

The first half of verse 1 is in adoration of the god Marīci (i. e. Viṣṇu) while its second half adores the *muni-jana* or the community of saints or sages. Verse 2 is in adoration of the *Nara-siṃha* or *man-lion* form of Viṣṇu described as *Lōkanāthā*. These two stanzas remind us of the first two verses of the Mallasāraṇi plate,⁴ which run as follows:

Jayati śri-Lōkanāthāya yaḥ puṁsām sukṛta-karma-phala-hētaḥ |
satya-tapō-maya-mūrti-lōka-dvaya-sāhanō Dharmah ||
Tad-ann jita-dambha-lōbhā jayanti chirāya para-hit-ārthāḥ |
nirmateśāḥ sucharitāḥ para-lōka-jigishavaḥ santah ||

¹ Bhattacharya's List, No. 1616, wrongly speaks of Bādhgayā as the findspot of the inscription.

² See, e.g., the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, published above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and Plate.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 81 and 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff.; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 300.

There is a controversy about the meaning of these statues. Some scholars think that these are in adoration of Lōkanātha (the Buddha), Dharma and *santaḥ* (the monks forming the Saṅgha or Buddhist Church),¹ while there is another view that the adoration here is to Lōkanātha (Viṣṇu), dharma (law or piety) and the good folk.² In favour of the first view explaining *santaḥ* as the Buddhist Church, the following Buddhist *mangala* at the beginning of Puruṣhottama's *Trikaṇḍa-kāśa* has been quoted: *Jayanti santaḥ kulalaṁ prajānāṁ namo Muniśrīṣṭhāya curāḥ smṛitāḥ āha*, etc.³ The second interpretation has been supposed to be supported by the representation of the Chakrapuruṣa on the seal attached to the Mallasārul plate.⁴

It will be seen that, while the Mallasārul plate adores Lōkanātha, Dharma and *santaḥ*, our inscription praises *Lōkaītanātha* Mūrāri and the *muni-jana*. The similarity is remarkable, although Dharma is not mentioned in the latter. Since, in the age of the Mallasārul plate which has been assigned to the sixth century A. D., the identification of the Buddha with Viṣṇu as one of the latter's incarnations was fast taking shape,⁵ it is not impossible to trace a rapprochement of Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism in the *mangala* verses in that inscription. We may possibly also trace in the Chakrapuruṣa represented on the seal of the Mallasārul plate a sort of compromise between the concepts of the *Dharma-chakra* associated with the Buddha and the *Sudarśana-chakra* of Viṣṇu.⁶

Verse 3 of our inscription speaks of *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmadēva while the following stanza (verse 4) mentions his son *Sihadēva* and grandson *Bappadēva*. Verse 5 describes *Vallabhadēvi* who was the wife of *Bappadēva*. *Bhānudēva*, the son of *Bappadēva* from the said *Vallabhadēvi*, is then introduced in verse 6. His description is continued in the next stanza (verse 7) while verse 8 states that *Bhānudēva* dedicated a *vāra* (house) at *Gaya* for housing the *gatis* or ascetics and also refers to the house as an *āśrama* of the *brahmachārins* (i. e. an abode of people committed to celibacy). Verse 9 contains a prayer of the *mauni* (one who has taken a vow of silence) apparently meaning *Bhānudēva*, in which people are requested to see to the well-being of the *śiṣya* or house. The real nature of this *vāra* or *śiṣya* for housing ascetics, called an *āśrama* again in verse 11, is further indicated, as will be seen below, in the concluding verse of the *prasaṅgi* which refers to it as a *maṭha* apparently to indicate a monastery.

Verse 10 is the oft-quoted *Sarvān-śān-śāśanaḥ pāṭhivīndrāḥ*, etc., generally found at the end of copper-plate grants among imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, though the word *mauni* indicating *Bhānudēva* is inserted in it in place of the name of *Rāma*. Verse 12 states that, as ordained by the *śaṭchārins* (persons engaged in religious observances or austerities), only ascetics (*tapādharma-jana*) who are not deformed and are respectable should stay in the *āśrama* (abode of ascetics) and that the *Brāhminas* of *Gaya* should see that there is no transgression of this rule.

¹ Loc. cit.

² Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 162-63.

³ Ibid., p. 162, note 3.

⁴ The representation has been regarded as a human figure standing against the background of a wheel. It, however, really appears to show the upper part of the body come out of the central hole in the wheel with its legs behind the lower section of the wheel. The figure has its left hand on the left side of the waist and the right hand holding the upper left corner of the wheel. For a late representation of the Chakra-puruṣa on the central part of a wheel, see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, Plate LXXXV-A facing p. 291.

⁵ A verse enumerating the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, including the Buddha, and found in a number of Purāṇas is quoted in an inscription of the eighth century A. D. The inscription may be assigned to the Gupta age. See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 416 and note 1.

⁶ The *Pañcharātra* text *Abhayaśaṭpāṇḍita*, assigned to a date about the eighth century A. D. (to the Gupta age by some), gives a long description of the Chakra-puruṣa, otherwise called *Sudarśana* *Sudarśana-puruṣa* and *Chakrasaṁpāda-puruṣa*, and regards him as a manifestation of Viṣṇu and, not only as identical with *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*, but also as the Buddha of the *Bauddhas*, the *Tirthankaras* of the *Jains*, the *Yajña-puruṣa* of the *Vājāsneya* and *Mīmāṃsikas* and the *Puruṣa* of the followers of *Kapila*. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 27 ff.

Verse 12 contains a prayer for the long life of the *kṛti* or fame-producing work, of course, meaning the *vāsa* or *nivāsa* referred to above.

Verse 13, with which the *prastāva* ends, states that the *pratishṭhā* or installation of the *maṭha* took place on the full-moon day of the month of Vaisākha in the seventh year of the reign of king Nārāyaṇapāladēva.

It is interesting to note that what has been called a *vāsa* in verse 8 and a *nivāsa* in verse 9 is called an *āśrama* in verses 8 and 11 and a *maṭha* in verse 13. The house was apparently a monastery, and probably not a *dharmashālā*, for the stay of ascetics visiting Gayā. The inscribed stone slab must have been originally embedded into the wall of the building.

TEXT

[Metres : verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verses 2, 9 *Śragdhārā* ; verses 3-6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 7-8 *Mandūkī* ; verse 10 *Sālinī* ; verses 11, 13 *Sārdūlavakṛdī* ; verse 12 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham¹ [||*] Ōm namō² Parameśvaram³ namah || Ōm [||*] Jayati jagati⁴-[nā]bhāḥ prasphurbhachāru-mūrtir-jagad-ari-vinihantā śrīmad-ākāśe Murārīśa(riḥ) | tadānu muni-janō-yathāsthi[ra]⁵-sankṣāpā-rāṣaḥ sphura-
- 2 d-amala-guṇyāḥ⁶ dhyāna-vṛttan⁷ sthir-ātmā || [||*] Prōdabhūt-ātidarppa-prava(ḥ)sa-maṇa-sam(sāh) trāsa-hetu-svabhāva(ḥ) |⁸ kṛtv-aitan-Nārasīngha(śimham) sphuṭa-vikāṣa-saṭam rūpam-ātyugra-mandira(ḍam) [||*] y-
- 3 u-śāntaḥ prithivyāḥ khara-nakha-karai-bhōditō Daitya-rājāḥ śrīmān-lōkaikanāthō⁹ bhuvana-hita-vidhātā¹⁰ pātu yushmāu-sa Vāhaṇā || [3*] Śrīmān-sōśha-subha-saribhṛta-chāru-mā-
- 4 rtit(ritir)-bhāṭṭaḥ emummala-dhiyām pravarō śrīgrāha¹¹ | prāpt-ōday-ōdita¹²-kulō sukṛtīḥ rahhu(babhū)va yō Vāmadēva ita sarvva-jagat-pratīṭṭaḥ || [3*] Tasy-ātmajab priyataniō vidushā[m*] samā-
- 5 st(stā)-yathā Śhādēvamitī¹³ va(ha)ndha-janō juhava [||*] tasy-ābhavat-sutavarō vara-dharmma-vṛttīḥ sanmā(mā)nitō guru-janair-upi Va(Ba)ppadavah || [4*] Sarvārtha-siddhi-karāḥ-sika-nidhāna-bhūtā sau-
- 6 ndarya-gaṭiḥ-ruchir-āmla-rūpa-sūpate(pat) || painī cha tasya Kamal-ēva sadā pradastā khyāt-ā¹⁴ bhava-jagati Vallabhadēva-atishṭhā || [5*] Tābhyāma(jā)hyāma(jayata)¹⁵ antō-mala-
- 7 dharmma-vṛttir-vvāk-kāya-chitta-kṛta-saṅgyamanō hi mānī [||*] Vra(Bra)hm-ōpan(gī)ta-charit(ō) vṛata-saṅgata-śrī(śrī)-yō Bhāgu(nu)dēva¹⁶ ita pūrvam-īha pratīṭṭaḥ [|| 6*] Vidyā-lōkām kṣapa-parigatīḥ(tir)

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *namah*.

⁴ The word *jagati* does not suit the metre.

⁵ Read *dhara* or *dhāra*.

⁶ Better read *prā-dhāyā*.

⁷ The *daṇḍa* is redundant. The metre of this foot is defective. Better read *ātyanta-darppa-pravala-saman-sāh*.

⁸ Read *śrīmad-ākāśe*.

⁹ Read *hita-karāḥ* for the sake of the metre.

¹⁰ There is a mistake here. We may suggest *pravarōśimhā*.

¹¹ The intended reading may be *āditya*. Otherwise *āditya* has to be regarded as the name of the family to which the hero of the *prastāva* belonged.

¹² Read *śrīmad-ākāśe*.

¹³ Read *śrīmad-ākāśe* or *śrīmad-ākāśe*.

¹⁴ R. D. Banerji read the name as *Bhāṇadēva*.

- 8 sathakritānām viditvā janm-ōtrāsād-ama[sa]-bhavana[ś]* prāptum-abhyndgatēna [i*] yān-
ātyartham sukṛta-matibhi[s-sē]vitē dhyanā-mārggē chētō nyastat: vimalam-alam [śānam]-
lavādanā-
- 9 ya || [7*] Tēn-ānka-drija-jana-bhavi prēma-vṛittyō **Gayāyām** śrīnāḍīśhō² yaticu vihitā-
[h*] sad-guṇ-āvāsa-vāsaḥ [i*] jātān śrōyō yad-amala-guṇam vra(bra)hmacāry-āśramēṣa
tēn-ā-
- 10 stv-ōta]-jagad-amalinam kēhpa-sa[n*]kīśa-rāśi(h) || [8*] Chāturiḍyārū samastat: prasād-
(śa)mīta-kaluśān(śam) Vra(Bra)hms-samnyastat(eta)-vṛittin śrīmantadiśat-kriy-ōtmā(tma)-
prathita-pṛithu-guṇāni prārthaya-
- 11 ty-ōsha mauṇ | bhūyāś-śākō-mita-śrīh parakṛita-ava(su)kṛitēh pālānē rakshaṇō cha tat-
karṭavyam bhavadbhīh śhira-va(vi)mala-guṇaḥ svān-nivā[śō*] yath-āyam(yam) || [9*]
Sad-vṛitt-āmala-vṛi-
- 12 tibhih sphutatarām jāt-ādarāh sarv-ataḥ³ Sarvvān-ōtā[n*]-bhāvina[h*] pāthē(rthi)vēndrā-
(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō jachaty-ōsha⁴ mauṇi [i*] sāmānyō-ya[n*] dharmma-śō(śē)tur-marāgaṁ-
(nām) kālē kālē pā-
- 13 lanō(nl)yō bhavadbhīh || [10*] *vyaṅ-śnārya-va(ha)hā-tapōdhana-janai sthātavyam-atr-
āśramē | ity-ōtatā⁵-vata-chāribhīr-niyamitān bhūyād-yathā n-ānyathā [i*] karṭavyam
tad-ib-āmalaḥ(lal)h pri-
- 14 yatamair-viprair-Gayā-śāśihūh || [11*] Sphuratu kṛitir-āyam guṇa-śēlinī sakala-satva(tiva)-
hinō(t-ō)daya-hētavē [i*] tapati yāvad-āyam bhūvi [i*] bhīśkarō himaka-
- 15 rēṇa sah-āmala-didhitih || [12*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇapālādōva iti yāh prāpt-ōdayō bhūpatih(tir)-
bhūtō bhūmibhū(bhu)jā[n*] śrōbhīr-āmalam yasy-ā[n*]chitarā śāśanam(tam) || tājāna-
ta-
- 16 aya guṇ-āmalaḥ mahatāh samva(sariva)tsarō saptamō **Vaiśākhyārū** śubha-
sambhṛitēna vidhinā lavdha(bdha)-prātiśhṛita matḥa⁶ || [13*]

2. Nimdighi inscription mentioning Gopāla

The small stone slab bearing this inscription was originally found at **Nimdighi** (also called Jamalnagar), about ten miles north-west-west of Māndā in the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan and about 8 miles to the north-east of the Nachole railway station on the Godagari-Katihar line of the former Eastern Bengal Railway. It is about 30 miles south-east of Gaur. Māndā, locally known as Thākūr Māndā, lies about thirty miles north of Rajshahi, chief town of the District of that name. It was once the headquarters of a Police Station which still retains its name. The inscribed slab was brought from Nimdighi to Māndā where A. K. Maitreya found it in 1911. Maitreya considered the inscription hopeless for the purposes of study and presented it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for preservation.

¹ The intended reading seems to be 'amala-jānāt-ā'.

² Read śrīnāḍīśhō or Gayāyām-śāśihū.

³ This is only one foot of a stanza to be read in line 13 before svayā-ā'. Read sarvvat.

⁴ The intended reading is yachō'; but read tājānā prārthaya' or tājānā yachāt chetishā.

⁵ Read here the first foot of the stanza misplaced in lines 11-12.

⁶ Read 'śud'.

⁷ The danda is redundant.

⁸ Read prātiśhṛit matḥa. The last five alsharas of the line are written in smaller characters. They may have been incised by a different person.

THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyanapala, Year 7

[illegible]

Scale: One-fourth

2. Nīmdighi Inscription mentioning Gopāla



Scale: One-half

The stone slab bearing the inscription measures a little above ten inches in length and slightly less than seven inches in height. There are in all eleven lines of writing, the last of which contains only three letters and is engraved below the concluding part of line 10. The inscribed area covers about 9 inches by 6 inches. The writing is neat and clear while the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. But the engraving of the record was entrusted to one who could not follow the draft before him and therefore shaped the letters as he thought he saw them. The case is similar to that of such other inscriptions as the Sūnahar plate of Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra, recently edited in the pages of this journal.¹ It was for this reason that Maitreya regarded the study of the inscription as futile and, up till now, no less than four scholars have tried to emend the faulty text of the record without complete success. But we do not agree with the belief that the epigraph was 'manifestly incorrectly drafted and incised'.² In our opinion, it is only the engraver (or the person who wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) who is to be blamed and not the person who composed the five stanzas in the inscription. If the author of the stanzas had poor knowledge of Sanskrit, as in the case of the Chhṛṣṭi-Saddi inscription³ of Gauri, the text of the epigraph would not have been full of meaningless passages as it actually is. A composition containing mistakes of language, grammar and prosody is one thing and gibberish is another and the two can be easily separated.

The inscription was first published in 1913 by B. B. Vidyāvinōd in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XIX, 1319 B.S., pp. 155 ff., and next by R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 (p. 102 and Plate XXX). These scholars totally failed to do any justice to the record. In 1916, R. G. Basak published an improved transcript of the inscription, together with a translation, in the *Pratibhā* (Bengali journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishad), Vol. V, 1322 B.S., pp. 387 ff. The last to edit the epigraph is N. K. Bhattacharya whose article on the subject appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207 ff. and Plate.⁴ We are, however, sorry to note that the emended transcript, published by this latest editor of the epigraphic record, very often ignores the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and could hardly have been intended by the author of the verses. This may be illustrated by a few out of the many examples.

In the second foot of verse 2 in the *Sragdharā* metre, Bhattacharya's emended text is: *pitr-ājñā-pratijñā nibhita-sara-satish pāra-Sēna-satruḥ a-śhṭau* which has been translated as "with fixed resolve to carry out his father's order with his eight associates, after having plied the enemy, namely the Sēna, with a hundred sharp arrows". Apart from the fact that such nonsense is not expected from the pen of even a poor Sanskritist, it is impossible to think that even the poorest poet would insert such a foot in a stanza in *Sragdharā* against the requirements of the metre. Bhattacharya interprets the expression *pāra-Sēna-satruḥ*, supposed to occur in the passage, as 'one who has killed or plied the enemy, viz. the Sēna, with'. Any student of Sanskrit would at once notice the difficulty in arriving at this awkward meaning of the expression which moreover violates the metre horribly. The expression *pitr-ājñā-pratijñā* is equally unhappy and unsuitable to the metre. The author of the stanza must therefore have written something different. Such inaccuracies in Bhattacharya's translation as of *sara-satish* as 'with a hundred arrows' are of course negligible.

Bhattacharya's emended text of the first foot of verse 3, which is in the *Rathōddhatā* metre, runs as follows: *santatitātā-radhūya saṅgaṭā*. We have doubts whether a poet of any worth could have written it in so flagrant a violation of the metrical rules. As regards the interpretation of the

¹ Above, pp. 183 ff.

² *IBQ*, Vol. XVII, p. 208.

³ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

⁴ Bhattacharya also published an article on the inscription in the Bengali journal, *Maṣik Faṣmanti*, 1348 B.S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 433 ff.

expression *ardha-tad-anuja*, found in his emended transcript of the first foot of verse 4, as 'his half-brother', probably the less said the better.

The emendation of the faulty text of the Nimdighi inscription being a very difficult job and no satisfactory reconstruction of the text being available, we are inclined to place our text and interpretation of the epigraph for the comments of scholars.

On palaeographical grounds, the Nimdighi inscription has rightly been assigned to the time of **Gōpāla III** of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The rule of this king has been tentatively assigned to c. 1130 A.D.¹ or c. 1125-40 A.D.² Since, however, his successor Madanapāla ascended the throne about 1144 A.D.,³ that must be the time when Gōpāla III ended his rule. The beginning of Gōpāla's reign depends on his identification with the Pāla king of the same name known from the Rājīpur Sadāśiva image inscription⁴ of the 14th regnal year, which some scholars are inclined to assign to Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D. or c. 940-60 A.D.).⁵ We are in favour of the identification.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol which is followed by five verses and an endorsement in prose giving the name of the writer of the record. Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). This is appropriate since the purpose of the inscription was probably to record the construction of a Śaiva shrine.

Verse 2 contains two sentences the first of which states that Gōpālādēva went to heaven on after giving up his body at his own will. The second sentence says that the grateful Aidādēva also went to heaven consequently. Thinking that he was the prominent dust of Gōpālādēva's feet (i.e. a prominent servant of Gōpālādēva), Aidādēva died probably as a result of his body being pierced with hundreds of sharp arrows. Certain extremely corrupt passages appear to suggest that Aidādēva shook off the fear of his death, that he received his father's consent [in giving up his life in the cause of his master] and that he died on the back of his elephant which had fallen into a swoon.

This stanza suggests that, although Gōpālādēva is stated to have embraced death at his own will, he lost his life in a battle and that his grateful subordinate Aidādēva died on the battle-field fighting for his master. In the case of Gōpāla, the death at his own will probably means that he preferred to fight instead of leaving his forces on the battle-field to save his own life.

The second half of verse 3 says how the son of Śubhadēva sported as a god in the company of the celestial damsels after having obtained fame and, according to a defective passage, probably having died on the battle-field while fighting. There is no doubt that this 'son of Śubhadēva' is the same as Aidādēva described in verse 2. As suggested above, the father of Aidādēva seems also to be referred to in that stanza as having permitted his son to die in the cause of the latter's master.

Verse 4 praises a person named Bhāvakadāsa who was responsible for setting up the inscription as can be gathered from the following stanza. The second half of verse 5 speaks of a *kīrti* built by the said Bhāvakadāsa. The first half of the same stanza says that the *kīrti* was built at a place where certain great men had been burnt or, according to our emendation, where Bhāvakadāsa's brother had been burnt. Of course, our emendation would give the expected relationship of Bhāvakadāsa with the person mentioned in verses 2-3. But it has to be admitted that Śubhadēva and Aidādēva have names ending in *dēva* and may have belonged to a *Dēva* family while Bhāvakadāsa has a *dāsa*-ending name. Bhāvakadāsa, however, must have been related to Aidādēva and the relationship is expected to have been expressed somewhere in verses 4-5, probably in the latter. The difficulty indicated above is eliminated if the word (*dhātā* in our emended text is taken in the sense of a cousin (a son of one's paternal aunt or maternal uncle).

¹ Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, p. 236.

² *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 177.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

⁴ *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, pp. 217 ff. and Plate.

⁵ See Ray, loc. cit.; Majumdar, loc. cit. (cf. p. 167, note 4).

Since the word *kīrti* means any fame-producing work, it is not easy to guess the nature of the object built by Bhāvakadāsa. But considering the fact that the stone slab bearing the present inscription was probably fixed in the wall of a temple, it may have been a Śaiva shrine that was built by Bhāvakadāsa in memory presumably of his relative Aidādēva, though the faulty text may suggest that the *kīrti* was built to commemorate the death of many people including Aidādēva and his master.

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 10-11 is in prose. It states that Rātōka was the writer. It appears that the word *likhita*, 'written', here refers not to the composition of the short *prastāvi* contained in the epigraph but to its writing on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the Pāla king Gōpāla III as having died while fighting some enemies near about the findspot of the record. We have seen how he was followed to the other world by his trusted officer Aidādēva, son of Śubhadēva, and how another person named Bhāvakadāsa built a shrine at the place where the dead body of Aidādēva (or, less probably, the bodies of the persons who died in a great battle) was burnt. It appears that, even though the Pāla king died on the battle-field, ultimately the Pāla army succeeded in driving out the enemy, since, if the land around the battle-field had passed to the victorious enemies, it would have been difficult for a Pāla partisan to set up a record in memory of a Pāla general (or less probably, a Pāla king and his military officers). The temple in memory of Aidādēva (or certain deceased persons including Aidādēva and his master) was apparently constructed shortly after the battle referred to in the inscription probably at a time when the area was free from the enemies.

The fact that Gōpāla III died in an attempt to repulse his enemies, as indicated by the Nim-diḡhi inscription, seems to be supported by another evidence. Santhyaśakaraśāstrin's *Rāmācharita* (IV, 12) has the following stanza in the description of Gōpāla III :

Api śatruḡha-śpāyāt-Gōpālāḥ var-jagūma tat-snuḡ |

hantuḡ kumbhīnasy-āsta-nayasy-astasya sāmāyikaḡ-ītat ||

This has been translated as : " Even his (Kumbhīnāśa's) son, Gōpāla by name, met with his death as the result of his effort to exterminate enemies. The [death] of this ill-disciplined person, who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time."¹ It has also been suggested that " Gōpāla met with a premature death while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile."² The first of the two interpretations is of course preferable, though we are inclined to take *asta-naya* as an adjective of *Kumbhīna* which may be the same as *Gajapati* probably meaning a contemporary ruler of Orissa. It has, however, to be admitted that the title *Gajapati* appears to have become popular with the Gaṅgas of Orissa not long before the middle of the thirteenth century,³ although that does not prove that the earlier Orissan rulers were not so called by their contemporaries. Whatever that may be, it is clear that the poet, in eulogising Gōpāla III, means to say that the royal hero, who even killed the powerful *Kumbhīna*, devoid of good conduct and therefore a particularly formidable enemy, lost his life while fighting certain enemies on the battle-field and that such a death was quite proper (*sāmāyika*) for him since that led him directly to heaven.

¹ Ed. Majumdar, Basak and Banerji, *Rajshahi*, p. 123.

² Loc. cit., note 1.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 42-44.

9 namvāhitavāṣaḥ¹ sa yayatā² śrīśāmbhāvakadāśaḥ³ [|| 4*] Dagaḥ yatra mahad-bhūtāḥ tara-śa-
 10 lyāna pūrītā⁴ [|| *] ya(ta)tra Bhāvakadāśaḥ kṛtā kṛtta(rttir)=vīrājatāḥ(tā) [|| 5*] Rāstōkēna li-
 11 khitam [|| *]

3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

The stone slab bearing this inscription is embedded in the wall of a small shrine close to the Gadādhara temple below the courtyard of the Vishṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar. There is the figure of a Śiva-līṅga above the writing and another figure of a female deity below the inscription. This second figure reminds us of similar representations in the Gayā records of certain South Indian pilgrims edited above,⁵ though we cannot be sure whether the persons responsible for setting up the present epigraph also hailed from the South. The incision of the Śiva-līṅga above the writing is interesting since the inscription was set up in the Vishṇupāda temple which is one of the most celebrated Vaiṣṇava shrines in the whole of India. The transaction recorded in the epigraph relates to the Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) temple and it was conducted by people who appear to have been all devoted to the god Viṣṇu. The representation of the Śiva-līṅga in our inscription may suggest that the engraver of the record was a Śaiva.

The inscription under study is well known for the importance of its date which has been discussed by most writers on the later history of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, though the epigraph was never properly edited. A totally inaccurate account of the contents of the inscription given by Buchanan in his *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 61, was quoted in 1871-72 by Cunningham in his *Arch. Sur. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, p. 125, No. 18. Cunningham also noticed the 'particularly valuable' date of the epigraph and published an eye-copy of it in the same work (Plate XXXVIII). In 1915 a rough transcript of the inscription was published by R.D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (p. 109). A good facsimile of the record also appears in Banerji's work (Plate XXVIII).

The importance of the date of the present inscription lies in the fact that it quotes **Vikrama 1232** as corresponding to year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvindapāla. The dates of the records of the Pāla regime are generally quoted in the regnal years of individual kings without reference to any era. Of course, the recently published Valgudar inscription⁶ of Madanapāla, dated in his 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083, has offered us the most important date in Pāla records while only the Sārnāth inscription⁷ mentioning Mahipāla I was known, since the close of the eighteenth century, as bearing the date Vikrama 1083 without the corresponding regnal year. Thus, before the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, the Gayā inscription offered a date which was unique among Pāla records though, as will be seen below, the expression *gata-rājya* used in connection with the date was generally misunderstood.

¹ Read *dāsa-dāśa-śa. śaśāśa-śaśa*. The word *śaśa* seems to be original but does not satisfy the metrical requirement of *anuy-āgama*. It may, however, be remembered that *ś* is pronounced like *ṣ* in Bengali. (Or, *śaśa*?)

² Read *yayati*.

³ The intended reading is *śrīśāmbhāvakadāśaḥ*.

⁴ Read *pūrītā* or better *śaśāśa-pūrītā*. *Mahādāśa* may mean 'those who have become great', or we may have *śaśāśa-śaśa*. But the plural is not justified by the context since the reference seems to be to Ajāṭśatru alone unless, of course, it is believed to indicate *gaurava*. It is also not impossible to take it to refer to several people including Ajāṭśatru and the king. The intended reading seems, however, to be *śaśāśa yatra mahād-śaśa* or *śaśāśa-pūrītā*.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 110, 113, and Plate between pp. 112 and 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145, No. 3.

⁷ See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 114.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passages *ś śaṁṁ* and *naṁṁ* *bhagavatē Vāṁṁṁ* ('adoration to Lord Vāṁṁṁ'). Next comes the date given, against the background of eternity, as the *Vikāri-saṁvatsara* of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, corresponding to *Saṁṁ* (i.e. Vikrama) 1232 and falling in the *pūrcā-madhya* (dawn) of the Kali age in the twenty-eighth cycle of the *Vaivasvata-manvantara* in the *kalpa* of *Varāha* and the second *parārdha* of the god *Brahman* (lines 1-3). The dating reminds us of the Warangal inscription¹ of *Raghadeva*, in which the year is similarly quoted as *Pramādi-saṁvatsara* corresponding to the *Kaliyuga* year 4561 falling in the first quarter of *Kali* in the twenty-eighth *chatur-yuga* of the *Vaivasvata-manvantara* in the *Śvātavarāha-kalpa* and the second *parārdha* of *Brahman*. But the date is given in the latter inscription as falling in the eternal sovereignty of the god *Viṣṇu* and the place of the record is there likewise located in the dominions of a *Bahmani* ruler in the western part of the *Āndhra* country which is stated to have formed a part of *Bhārata-varāha* lying in the *Jambū-dvīpa* section of the earth. The idea of dating the *Gayā* inscription in the way indicated above may have occurred to the author of the epigraph because it records a transaction relating to the temple of *Gadādhara* or *Viṣṇu*, the lord of the three worlds. He may have also been a South Indian like the author of *Raghadeva's* record.

The above date, viz. *Vikrama* 1232 = *Vikāri*, corresponding to 1175-76 A.D., is equated in lines 3-4 of the inscription with year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of *Gōvīndapāla*. The inscription records, as we shall see below, the creation of an endowment for feeding *Brāhmaṇas* once in a year on *Āśvina-sudi* 5. Associating these details with *Vikrama* 1232 = *Vikāri*, Kiehlhorn regarded the date to be **Monday, the 22nd September 1175 A.D.**² We know that, besides this record, the rule of the same *Pāla* king is referred to in the colophon of seven manuscripts. There are thus altogether eight dates associated with *Gōvīndapāla*. They are the following:

- (1) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālāya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē* 4 ;
- (2) *saṁvat* 1232 *Vikāri-saṁvatsarē śrī-Gōvīndapālādēva-gata-rājya-chaturdaśa-saṁvatsarē*
..... *Āśvinā śukla-pañcāmīyām* ;
- (3) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvaśy-ātita-saṁvatsa* 18 *Kārttika-dinē* 15 ;
- (4) *śrī-Gōvīndapālāya-saṁvat* 24 *Chaitra-sudi* 8 ;
- (5) *Gōvīndapālādēvānām saṁ* 37 *Śrāvana-dinē* 11 ;
- (6) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvānām vinashta-rājyaśy aṣṭa-triṁśat-saṁvatsarē-bhīlikhyamānō*
Jyāishṭha-kṛishṇa-āṣṭamīyām tithā yatra saṁ 38 *Jyāishṭha-dinē* 8 ;
- (7) 'the 38th year of *Gōvīndapāla*' ;
- (8) *śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvānām saṁ* 39 *Bhādra-dinē* 14.³

It will be seen that out of these eight cases, the regnal years, 4, 24, 37, 38 and 39 are associated with *Gōvīndapāla's* rule in the usual way of referring to regnal reckonings as found in epigraphic and literary records, while the years 14, 18 and 38 are mentioned as falling in his *gata*, *ātita* or *vinashta* rule or sovereignty. It is quite clear that all these years refer to the same reckoning and this is made absolutely certain by the fact that the same year in *saṁ* (No. 6) of the eight cases cited above is quoted in both the ways as *vinashta-rājyaśy aṣṭa-triṁśat-saṁvatsarē* and as *saṁ* 38, while another date (No. 7) also speaks of the 38th year of the

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Appendix p. 24, No. 166 ; *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 358, No. 163 ; cf. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 876.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, note 3.

king without any specification. It has, however, to be noticed that the regnal year 4 has been associated with Gōvindapāla's 'victorious rule or sovereignty' while the later years have been related to himself (i.e. to his rule) or to his *gata* (past), *atita* (past) or *vinashita* (destroyed) rule or sovereignty. Ordinarily, the ascription of a particular year to a king means that the year in question fell in the reign period of the said ruler. In the present case, however, the years 34, 37, 38 and 39, associated with king Gōvindapāla (i.e. his reign), fell after the 14th year which has been specifically stated to have fallen in his *gata-rājya*. These years therefore did not belong to Gōvindapāla's normal regnal reckoning as their citation may suggest and this probably explains the absence of the word *rājya* in these cases. It is thus certain that Gōvindapāla's rule or sovereignty was a thing of the past after the fourth year of his reign and before the fourteenth year counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the latest date of Gōvindapāla's predecessor Madanapāla is supplied by the Valgudar inscription of Śaka 1083 corresponding to his 18th regnal year.¹ The actual date quoted in the inscription is Jyāshṭha-dina 11 which corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A.D., the month being lunar and *pāṇḍita*.² Gōvindapāla must have ascended the throne after that date. On the other hand, a Bōdhgayā inscription³ of a date falling between 1183-84 and 1192-93 A.D. shows that the Gayā region then formed a part of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra, though the Siyar plate⁴ of the same ruler, dated 1175 A.D., seems to record the grant of a village in the Patna District and points to the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of the Gayā-Pāṭnā region of Bihar as early as that year. Thus Gōvindapāla must have lost his hold on the Gayā area before 1175 A.D. which is also known to have fallen in the period of his 'lost sovereignty' from the evidence of the Gayā inscription under study. Since a king named Palapāla, who seems to have been the successor of Gōvindapāla on the Pāla throne, ruled in the Moughyr District till the 35th year of his reign⁵ while the Turkish Musalmāns established their hold on Bihar about the close of the twelfth century A.D.,⁶ it appears that Gōvindapāla ended his rule about 1165 A.D. not long after his 4th regnal year. Thus the reign of Gōvindapāla, covering about four years, may be assigned to the period 1161-62 to 1165-66 A.D.

There is a controversy whether the dates related to Gōvindapāla's *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita* sovereignty should be counted from his accession or from the time when he lost his kingdom. But the second alternative is impossible in view of the fact that a number of dates quoting years far exceeding the probable reign period of Gōvindapāla are associated merely with his rule without indicating that it was *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita*. If there were two reckonings relating to Gōvindapāla, viz. one associated with his *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya* counted from his accession and another connected with his past or lost sovereignty counted from the end of his actual rule, the two different systems of dating could not have been indiscriminately used as has actually been done. The people who used both the styles without discrimination had therefore no fear of a confusion which would have undoubtedly resulted if there were two different reckonings, one starting after the expiry of the other.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 141 ff.

² Ibid., 142 and note 3.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 401.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

⁵ See *JRS*, Vol. XLI, Part II, pp. 143 ff. The discovery of an inscription of Ballālasena's ninth regnal year (c. 1166 A.D.) near Bhāgalpur (above, Vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.), Lakshmanasena's claim to have obtained success against the king of Kāśī (cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text line 19; Vol. XXXIII, p. 318) and the early use of the peculiar Lakshmanasena era at Gayā (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff.) would suggest that Palapāla became a feudatory or subordinate ally of the Senas.

⁶ Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khāḥī sacked Bihārsharif in the Patna District about February 1199 A.D. and reduced the province of Bihar to submission between October 1199 and January 1201 A.D. (*Hist. Rec.*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 32) or shortly before the 24th March 1203 A.D. (*IHQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 145).

A question that naturally arises in our mind is why the reign of Gōvīndapāla was referred to when it had been actually ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. It cannot be argued, as is often done, that since Gōvīndapāla was a Buddhist, when he was ousted from the Gayā region by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas, the Buddhists of Gayā continued to refer to his reign in preference to that of the Brahmanists whom they hated. Such a contention is disproved by the present inscription which is not a Buddhist record. There must have been some other reason for this peculiar phenomenon. The people, especially of the Gayā region if not of other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāhaḍavālas probably as a result of persecution. Similar must have been the reason underlying the rise of the Lakṣmāṇasēna-samvat (La-Sem) in the same Gayā region apparently after the extirpation of Śēna rule in Bihar by the Turkish Muslims. As is well known, the earliest use of the *śēna-rājya* reckoning of Lakṣmāṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is noticed in the Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83.¹

The last word in the prose section of the inscription discussed above is *Gayāyām*, 'at Gayā', in line 4, which has to be read with the versified part below. There are altogether six stanzas in this part of the epigraph called a *prastāva* in the concluding verse as we shall see below.

Verse 1 contains two sentences the first saying that there was (at Gayā) a *Devīśa* Brāhmaṇa of the *Vaiśiṣṭha* *gotra*, by name Paṭṭapa, whose son was the *guggulīśa* Vidyādharma.² The word *guggulīśa* apparently means 'one who burns *guggula* (a particular fragrant gum resin)'. Vidyādharma was thus an incense-burner in a temple (probably, the Gadādhara temple) at Gayā. The verse further states that this Vidyādharma 'created some *dhana* (literally 'money') at the temple (*maṭha*) of Gadādhara (Gadādhara) for the Brāhmaṇas. As the following verses indicate, Vidyādharma deposited some money for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on Āvinaśudi 5 every year.

The word *bhāṣāh-ārthanā* (for the provision of food) in verse 2 should have to be read with *dhana* in verse 1. The rest of verse 2 states that there was an amount of sixteen *kāraṣāpaṇas* to the credit of Vidyādharma as annual interest on the capital of fifty *kāraṣāpaṇas* which must have been deposited by him one year earlier. The persons with whom the sum was deposited are indicated further below. Thus Vidyādharma created an endowment out of a deposit of fifty *kāraṣāpaṇas* yielding an annual interest of sixteen *kāraṣāpaṇas* at the rate of 32 per cent.³ The word *kāraṣāpaṇa* seems to have been used in the sense of a silver coin weighing 32 *ratas*, also known as *purāṇa*.⁴ But, in the age in question, the silver *kāraṣāpaṇa* or *purāṇa* was probably not in actual circulation, the transactions being generally conducted in cowrie-shells. As will be seen below, *kapardaka* or cowrie-shell is actually mentioned in an endorsement added to the record.

The same stanza (verse 2) also mentions two of the witnesses to the creation of the endowment. These are Padma and Viśvarūpa. In continuation of the list of witnesses, verse 3 mentions the following persons: Nṛsiṃha, Śrīdhara, Dēvadharma, All and Padmanābha. Of these, All and Padmanābha are stated to have been the servants of Viśva probably because they were associated with the administration of the Gadādhara temple and the worship of Gadādhara. All these people were residents of the *tapōvana* (literally 'a penance-grove') probably meaning a particular locality in Gayā.

Verse 4 mentions Rāghava, Śrīkara, Asūka, Dāmōdara, Hīdhara, Bhikha, Dēvanidhi and Dharmīn who are stated to have been the protectors (*pālana-kāriṇaḥ*) apparently of the endowment created by Vidyādharma. It appears that it was these persons with whom the sum of fifty *kā-*

¹ See Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1467-69; *IBQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21-25.

² Probably we should not take *Guggulīśa* as the name of the person and *vidyādharma* as his epithet.

³ For the high rate of interest in ancient India, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 159, note 5.

⁴ Cf. *JNSI* Vol. VII, p. 84.

śāḥpaṇas was deposited for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas in the Gadādhara temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year out of the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* accruing to it annually. Otherwise they were the trustees and the money was deposited in the temple treasury.

Verse 5 states that those who would maintain the *dharma* (i.e. Vidyādhara's pious deed) every year (i.e. those who would arrange for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas out of the interest of the sum deposited by Vidyādhara) would acquire the merit of the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The following stanza (verse 6) says that, whoever would stop the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas on Āśvina-sudi 5, he would be committing the five great sins.

The above six stanzas are followed in lines 13-14 by a passage in prose. It states that the eulogy (*prākāśa*) was composed (*krīta*) by Muktāndra and that it was written (*likhita*) by the *Kā* (i.e. *Kāyasthas* or scribes) Jastyi (or Jastyā) and Jayakumāra.¹ The word *likhita* seems to mean here the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

There is one line of writing in the left margin along the border of the inscription discussed above. That it is a separate endorsement is indicated by the fact that it begins with a *siddham* symbol. This line of writing contains a single verse. The second half of the stanza states that 'these' *kāṣṭhāpaṇas* (cowrie-shells) were given in the presence of the image of the god (i.e. Gadādhara), the first half of the same verse stating that Sūmāśvara and the Gayā Brāhmaṇa (i.e. Gayā Brāhmaṇa) Padmanābha were the witnesses 'in this matter' (*īdha*). The endorsement appears to mean that the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* accruing to the deposit made by Vidyādhara after one year in Vikrama 1232 was handed over to the temple authorities by Rāghava and others for arranging for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas on Āśvina-sudi 5 and that this fact was entered in the margin of the original document a little later than it had been drawn up. The statement was engraved in the same position in the document when it was copied on stone. The Gayā Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha mentioned as a witness seems to be the same person known from verse 3 to have been a witness of the creation of the endowment.

It is interesting to note that the sum of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* or *paṇḍas* was paid in cowrie-shells. This reminds us of the *kāṣṭhāpaṇa-paṇḍa* mentioned in the 85th inscription apparently in the sense of 'a *paṇḍa* counted in cowrie-shells'.² The number of cowrie-shells going for one *kāśhāpaṇa*, at least in the Bengal area, seems to have been 1280. It is stated that 4 cowrie-shells = 1 *gaṇḍā*; 20 *gaṇḍās* = 1 *paṇḍa* (*paṇḍa*); 16 *paṇḍas* = 1 *kāśhāpaṇa* (*kāśhāpaṇa*).³ Thus 1280 *kāṣṭhāpaṇas* made 1 *kāśhāpaṇa*.⁴

TEXT⁵

[Metres: verse 1 *Uṣṇīṣī*; verse 2 *Indravajrā*; verses 3-7 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham* Ō svasti [!]* namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya | Vra(Bra)hmanāḥ dvitīya-parārthā-
(vḥ)
- 2 Vārāha-kalpē Vā(vasva(ava)ta-manvata(ava)ntarē ash(ā-vinśatī)ta*)jñē yugē Kām(Ka)lau
pūrva-sat(ā)-
- 3 mīhyāyām Samvata* 1232 Vikārī-samvata(va)tsarē | śrī-Govindapālādē-

¹ It is possible that one of them wrote the main document and the other only the endorsement.

² *JASB. Letters*, Vol. IX, 1949, p. 293; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 602.

³ *JASB*, Vol. VII, p. 83.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

* Romā Sanskrit.

- 1 **va-gata-rājyē** chatarddaśa-**sūrimva(va)tearē Gayāyām** ||¹ **Vaśi(a)sh(ha-gūṛaś-**
 2 **tigupō** dvivēda) śrī-Dallagō-sūta² antam mshānta[śi](ntam) | Vidyādharam gu-
 3 gu(gg)linam Gadābhūm-ma(hē-mun-āikāri dhanō(nām) dvijānām(nām) || [1*] Bhō(Bha)-
 4 ksh-ārtham=avdanti(bdanti) pra-
 5 ti shōḍaś-aiva kārshāpani(nā) vṛuddhita ēva ladhvāḥ(bdhāḥ) | mūlan=cha pañchāśa(śa)ti-
 6 h=ānti sākoḥi Padm-ābhidhānō-cha cha Viśvarūpaḥ || [2*] Nṛsiṃha) Śrīdhārō Dēva-
 7 dharō-It-Padmanā(bha*)kan | Viśhūn-ēva(vā)-karan ch=aitō tapōyana-āyāśinah || [3*]
 8 Rāghavaḥ
 9 Śrīkarō=śikō Dāmōḍarsakaḥ(ka)-Hādhara³ || [4*] Bhūkhō Devanidhir-Dhā(r)jannō⁴ ch=aitō
 10 pālo⁵
 11 na-kāripaḥ || [4*] Ā-chandr-ārkam-imam dha(r)mmatū pālayishvanti yē sukhadā(kham) |
 12 praty-avdanti(bdanti) tē-
 13 śvamēdhassaya ha(pha)lasi prāpā(peya)nti mōnavāḥ || [5*] Āsvinē śukla-pañchamiyām
 14 bhō(bha)ksham yē-
 15 vārayō=itam(dam) | labhātē=āy=asaṁdigdham mahāpātaka-pañchakam(kam) || [6*]
 16 prāstī-
 17 r-iyam kritā śrī-Muktāndrēya likhitā ch-ēyam kā-Jaṣyē-Jayakunnārābhyaṁ(bhyaṁ) ||
 18 Ōm⁶ || [6*] Sāmāyārō-ira sākaḥ(kshya)nti Paṇḍ(dam)ābhō **Gayā-dvi(a)** || [6*] dēva-
 19 rūpasya⁷ pā(pūratō dattā)ś⁸ ch=aitō kapardakā(b*) || [7*]

Postscript—Fresh light on the *gata-rājya* reckoning comes from a manuscript of Jivalēva's *Bhaktiśaikhya* (H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 5347) copied on Sunday, Bhādrapadi II in the 29th Anka (24th regnal year) of Mukundadēva (1559-68 A. D.), the last independent Hindu King of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August 1583 A. D., though the king died 15 year earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadēva's accession and not from his death. See *Indian studies—Past & Present*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October-December 1962, pp. 105 ff.

¹ Read *Gopāyān*. The punctuation mark has been used to indicate the separation of the following section in verse.

² The word is more suitable for the mother than father.

³ The intended reading may be either *Dāmodara-Mahādhara* or *Dāmodara Śrīdhara*.

⁴ *Dharma* may also be regarded as an epithet of *Dēvanidhi*.

⁵ *Kā* is an abbreviation of the word *kāyānta*. The following name may be read as *Jastipā* also.

⁶ This line is engraved in the left margin.

⁷ Expressed by symbol.

⁸ *Dēvarāya* may have also been the name of a person.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ वक्रलो द्वितीयधरात्
कन्याहस्ताविव शठमनुतुल्यप्रवर्ण उल्लसत्कान्तो घर्षस
द्वाधां प्रमथ ॥ २३२ ॥ विक्रमि शंभुस्तवा श्रीजाविद्वयातप
वगत्रास्तु तद्वलसंस्तवतयायां ॥ वशिष्ठगोप्यो
उमुलोद्विभदः श्रीफललोमस्तुतु महानुर्व्याधरगु
गुतेन गदाहस्ताभ्युनाकारिधनाद्विज्ञाना ॥ सोमवमद
उजाग्रनेपकावीपलावृत्तिप्रवतधीः ॥ मृतवपशामदे
हसुमाश्रीयद्वाक्येनास्वतवैश्वरुयः ॥ नमो हः श्रीवरादेव
पक्षापिज्ञानको ॥ विष्णुसवकरोठेठग्राणमनेवामिनः ॥ वायवः
गोकर्णमुकोदालादुकुः क्षीप्रतोत्थो देवनिर्विक्रमी ठेठगत
नकावेलाः ॥ आठशार्कममवर्ध्यातये चानुये यथु ॥ पुण्ड्र
श्वमक्षरुतया धुमिगारवा ॥ आश्विनपुत्रय ॥ ३३ ॥ नमो
वायवः ॥ तत्रास्मात्तमदधमहायाकयक ॥ पुनर्मु
रिप्यती श्रीवक्रलो नलिथेठाठयकारुणाधीर्यकुशासद्या

2
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14

No. 33.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAUMUNDO

(Received on 6.2.1961)

The first of the two inscriptions edited in these pages now lies in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Museum No. 290). It was found at the well-known *tirtha* of Pushkar near Ajmer and was presented to the Museum by the late Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 59.¹ We copied the epigraph some years ago and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1953-53, No. B 6.

Bhandarkar observes, "It really records two separate grants, one by Malhana, son of Bhatta, and the other by a king named Durgaraja. The first grant consists of a portion of a field called *Khatakhētra* within the precincts of the village *Nandā-grāma* on the west of *Jyēshtha-Pushkara* spoken of therein as having brought into existence by *Brahmā* and as *Vishnu-dharma-purāṇa*, i.e. old in [the practice of] the Vaishnava religion Malhana, the donor, is called *Pushkara-sāmdhya*, i.e. belonging to the Pushkar community. Pushkara Brāhmanas are at present known as *Parāsaras*. Malhana was thus, in all likelihood, a *Parāsara Brāhmana*. The date of the second grant cannot be properly deciphered, but it is certainly *Samvat* 990 and something odd.² It was made by Durgaraja to the same god, i.e. *Pundarikāksha*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of *Phālguna*. But the nature of his grant is not clear from the inscription."

We are sorry that it is difficult to agree with many of Bhandarkar's suggestions. In the first place, Malhana seems to us to have enjoyed the designation *Bhatta-putra*³ which need not be explained as 'the son of [a person named] Bhatta'. Secondly, the gift land consisted of the entire *Khatakhētra* and not any portion of it. Thirdly, *Jyēshtha-Pushkara* has not been called *Vishnu-dharma-purāṇa*. The reference in the epigraph is certainly to the well-known *Purāṇa* entitled *Vishnudharma* or *Vishnudharmottara*.⁴ Fourthly, *Pushkara-sāmdhya* may really mean 'a resident of Pushkara' as in cases like *Ujjayini-vinirgata-Kūragirikā-sāmdhya* (i.e. hailing originally from Ujjayini and now residing at Kūragirikā) in the description of a Brāhmana in an inscription from Rajasthan, dated 654 A.D.⁵ Fifthly, the year of Durgaraja's grant is apparently *Samvat* 994. Sixthly, Durgaraja, who was not a king but a small local chief, really did not make any gift of his own in favour of *Pundarikāksha* but merely ratified Malhana's grant as the landlord of the Pushkar region. Besides these, there are also some other minor points on which we are inclined to disagree with Bhandarkar.

The second of the two inscriptions forming the subject of our paper was discovered by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, on a pillar in the Śiva temple at *Thanwala* or *Thānvlā* (near Pushkar) in the Nagaur District of the Jodhpur Division of

¹ It is No. 31 of Bhandarkar's List (see also No. 55) of *Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1916-11, p. 2, Appendix B, No. 1.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 5 refers to the year as V.S. 990 (7).

³ It may be noted that the community of learned Brāhmanas is called *Bhatta-jñā* in lines 19 and 20 of our record. For *Bhatta* and *Bhatta-putra* as common designations of Brāhmanas, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 325, text lines 27-28, p. 327, text lines 10-12.

⁴ See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 580.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 172, text line 12; cf. p. 176, text line 17.

Rajasthan. A very brief notice of the record by Mr. Bhattacharya appeared in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954, p. 134. We copied it a few years back and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. B 513.

The first inscription records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarikāṣa (i.e. Viṣṇu) worshipped at Puṣkara, by a Brāhmaṇa of Puṣkara named Maḥaṭa in Vikrama 992 and the ratification of the gift by the chief Durgarāja of the Puṣkar region in Vikrama 994. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Bannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thanwala or in its neighbourhood within the Puṣkar region and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in Vikrama 1013. It is clearly stated in the first record that whatever gifts were given by people at Puṣkara became those of Durgarāja, called a *śāṣṭa*, apparently because he was the landlord of the district around the holy place or the person in charge of the *śrīṅga*.¹ The most important information supplied by the second inscription is, however, the fact that Durgarāja is mentioned here as the *Mahantaka* of *Mukāvājādhipāya* *Śimharāja* who was no doubt the Chāhamāna king of the same name.

The extension of Chāhamāna power in the Puṣkar-Ajmer region in the days of Śimharāja is an important information supplied by the above record. But the real meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*, which is derived from Sanskrit *mahat*, 'the great (man)', like the official designations *Mahattaka*, *Maṇḍatara* and *Mahattama* of inscriptions and *Mahatā*, *Maḍṭā* and *Mahanta* of today, cannot be determined in the present context. Essentially, the word seems to mean the head of a village or the village council or a Pañchāyat board or of some administrative, social or religious institution or organisation.² It is difficult to say whether Durgarāja was the head of the religious institution at Puṣkar like the *Mahanta-Mahārājas* of today, though his designation *Śāṣṭa* in the first inscription and *Mahantaka* in the second may point to that direction. That, however, he was not an ascetic is suggested by the mention of his father's name in the second inscription.

So long the earliest epigraph of the Chāhamāna house in question was the Haras inscription³ (Vikrama 1030=973 A.D.) of the reign of Śimharāja's son Vigrahārāja. Now we have an epigraph of Śimha's reign, dated Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The *Prithivīgarajaya* associates the Śākambhari or Śāmbhar lake, about 40 miles from Puṣkar, with Vāsudeva who was the founder of the Chāhamāna house and was favoured by the goddesses Śākambhari and Āṣṭpuri.⁴ Thus the original seat of the family seems to have been in the region of the said lake. A point to be considered is whether the present inscriptions help us in determining the date of the establishment of Chāhamāna power over the Ajmer-Puṣkar region. Since the name of a Chāhamāna king is not found in the first inscription bearing the dates Vikrama 992 and 994 while Śimharāja is mentioned in the second area shortly before Vikrama 1013, it is possible to suggest that Chāhamāna power was established in the area shortly before Vikrama 1013. But the possibility of the omission of the name of the Chāhamāna king in the first epigraph through negligence in a private record of this kind is not precluded. That the Chāhamānas succeeded in extending their power over the Puṣkar area earlier than the days of Śimharāja of our inscription may be conjectured from certain traditions recorded in the *Prithivīgarajaya*. Thus Rudrānī or Ātmāprabhā, the queen of Śimharāja's grandfather of the Puṣkara lake while Śimharāja's father Vākpati is said to have built a temple of Śiva at Puṣkara.⁵

¹ According to a well-known convention, the ruler of the land had a share in the religious merit earned by the people.

² *Mahantaka* is used in the *Lakṣyapaddhati* in the sense of a clerk or accountant and is used in Gujarat as a term of respect among the Bāṇḍiās. See also *above*, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-07, Bhanderkar's List No. 565.

³ *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 114-20.

⁴ See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1061.

⁵ Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1061-64. The performance of meritorious deeds at holy places, however, does not conclusively prove the inclusion of the areas in the performance's dominions (*above*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 109-01).

About the time of the records edited here, the Chāhamānas were apparently feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Gūvaka (Gōvinda) I, Sindhārāja's grandfather's great-grandfather, was a subordinate of king Nāgavalōka, identified with Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-33 A.D.), while Sindhā himself owed allegiance to a *Rajakula-chakravartin* who must have been a successor of Nāgabhaṭa II.¹

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 994

This is a stone inscription containing 31 lines of writing in all. The inscription covers an area 61 cm. in length and 31 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory.

The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of the tenth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. But the text is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. Some of these are due to the fact that the engraver could not follow the draft before him at certain places, though there must have been defects even in the composition. The record is written in prose and verse.

There are two dates in the record quoted with reference to two different transactions, viz., (1) grant of some land to the god Vishnu of Pushkara by a private person in *Saṃvat* 982, *Māgha-sudi* 11, and (2) its ratification by the landlord in *Saṃvat* 994, *Phālguna-amāvāsyā*, solar eclipse. The first date, quoted without mentioning the week-day, fell in the month of January 926 A.D. The second date corresponds to the 3rd February 938 A.D., when there was a solar eclipse on Phālguna-badi 15.

As we have said, Vikrama 982 (926 A.D.) relates to a grant made by a private person and Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.) to its ratification by his landlord. The long delay of more than a decade in the ratification, however, requires an explanation. It appears that the donor of the land continued to pay taxes on its account for some years after which the landlord agreed to make the grant rent-free. As we have elsewhere² suggested, such a ratification may have required payment of a sum of money by the donor to the king or landlord.

The inscription begins with an adoration to the god Puṇḍarikākṣa (i.e. Vishnu-Krishna) followed by the date Vikrama 982 *Māgha-sudi* 11 (lines 1-3). Reference is then made to a *khāta-kṣhētra* within the *Kaḍḍhāra-kṣhētra* lying in the area of *Nandī-grāma* to the west of *Jyēṣṭha-Pushkara* which is no doubt the modern Bughā Pushkar lake (lines 3-4). It is stated in the following passage that the said *khāta-kṣhētra* was purchased from *Savataka* and *Pama*, the sons of *Mānaga* (lines 4-5) while another passage in lines 5-6 says that one-third of the same *khāta-kṣhētra* was purchased from *Savataka* alone. The second piece of land was naturally within the boundary of the first and the entire land thus purchased was meant to be given in favour of the god Vishnu at Pushkara with the exclusion of a portion which seems to have been the property of a deity in the possession of a person (probably a priest of the said deity) named *Vāmāna* (lines 6-8). In this section of the record, the meanings of *kaḍḍhāra-kṣhētra* and *khāta-kṣhētra* are uncertain, though *Kaḍḍhāra* may be the name of the field (cf. many such cases in the Tharwala inscription edited below) and *khātakṣhētra* may indicate that the land in question was recently cleared by digging up trees, etc.

The next section of the record in lines 8-11 describes the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhara of Pushkara, while the following section in lines 12-13 mentions the penance-grove at *Jyēṣṭha-Pushkara* described as the great *tirtha* made by *Padmayāni* (Brahman)³, the father of the world, and situated

¹ See verses 12 and 19 of the Haras inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57 ff.).

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 ff.

³ Cf. *Pāṇini Paripāṭi*, V, 15.

on the pivot of the earth. Lines 13-15 mention the great god Puṇḍarikākṣa, one of whose epithets states that he granted his devotees the privilege of living in Sveta-dvīpa, i.e. the world of Viṣṇu according to epic and Puranic traditions.¹ The whole portion in lines 13-15 seems to say that Bhaṭṭa-suta Malhapa heard at the penance-grove, on the date quoted at the beginning of the charter, a rākṣasa (saying) about the god Puṇḍarikākṣa in the *Viṣṇudharma Purāṇa* apparently from some reciter and that, having heard that, he gave the said land to Sōmāditya for flowers, etc., for the god's (i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣa's) worship and for white-washing, etc., of his temple. Sōmāditya appears to have been the chief priest of the Puṇḍarikākṣa temple at Pushkara. This Sōmāditya seems to be mentioned in several inscriptions² in the Śiva temple of Thanwala near Pushkar. The name of the same Malhapa occurs as that of a donor in one of the Thanwala inscriptions.³ His name seems to appear as Mālhapā in the Thanwala inscription edited below.

Lines 19-21 contain a passage in prose stating that the gift was made by Malhapa praying for the goodwill of the Bhaṭṭas. This is followed by a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, in which the donor, Bhaṭṭa-nandana Mālhapā, requests the people for the protection of his gift.

The second record begins in line 22 with the date : Vikrama 994 (in words only), Phālguna-amāvāsyā, solar eclipse. The time is specified as when three fourths of the day were still to pass (i.e. at the end of the first quarter of the day) and when the sun's orb was divided into two sections (as a result of a part of it being eclipsed).

The date is followed by a verse in the *Giti* metre and another irregular stanza. The purport of this section is to say that whatever was given by the pilgrims visiting the Pushkara tirtha became the gift of Durgarāja himself when the *dhīpa* (ruler) Durgarāja took a bath in the waters of the Pushkara lake and offered libations of water to gods, etc., and also *homa* to the fire. The following passage in prose in lines 29-30 states that, for that reason, the gift was made in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣa. The record ends with a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre containing a request to the Bhaṭṭas for the protection of the grant. This is similar to Malhapa's own prayer in the stanza quoted in lines 21-22.

Pushkara, Jyēṣṭha-Pushkara and Nandā-grāma are the only geographical names in the inscription. Of these, Nandā-grāma has been identified with modern Nānd about six miles from Pushkar.

TEXT⁴

- 1 On-namaḥ⁵ [P]uṇḍarikākṣaya || sa|ni|vatsara-[sa]tēshu
- 2 navasu dvā(dvya)ṣṭy-adhikē[sh]u saṁvatu(vat) 982 Mā[ṇa](gha)-
- 3 [vu]dī(dī) aikādayām(ayām) Jyēṣṭha(shṭha)-Pā(Pu)shkarasya pāśahimā pūtyāḥ⁶
Nandā-g[rā]-
- 4 [ma]-bhūmy[ā]m [ka]ḥ[ḥ]āra-kṣhētr-ṣṣā(ṣṣa)ṣ kṣhā-kṣhētram[ī] yam(yat) Mānaga⁷-suta-
[Sa]-
- 5 [va]⁸[tu]ka-Panayōr-kṣatārdgha(t-kra)ḥ-āgatakaḥ(kam) | aparaṁ-api aya-aiva kṣh[ṭ]ta-

¹ See *Mahābhārata*, XII, 336, 27-35; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 80 (p. 82, text line 30).

² See *A.E.S.*, 1956-57, Nos. B 510-12.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 311.

⁴ From inked impressions.

⁵ This is followed by a symbol which may be a variety of the *siddha* symbol, though its proper place was at the beginning of the line.

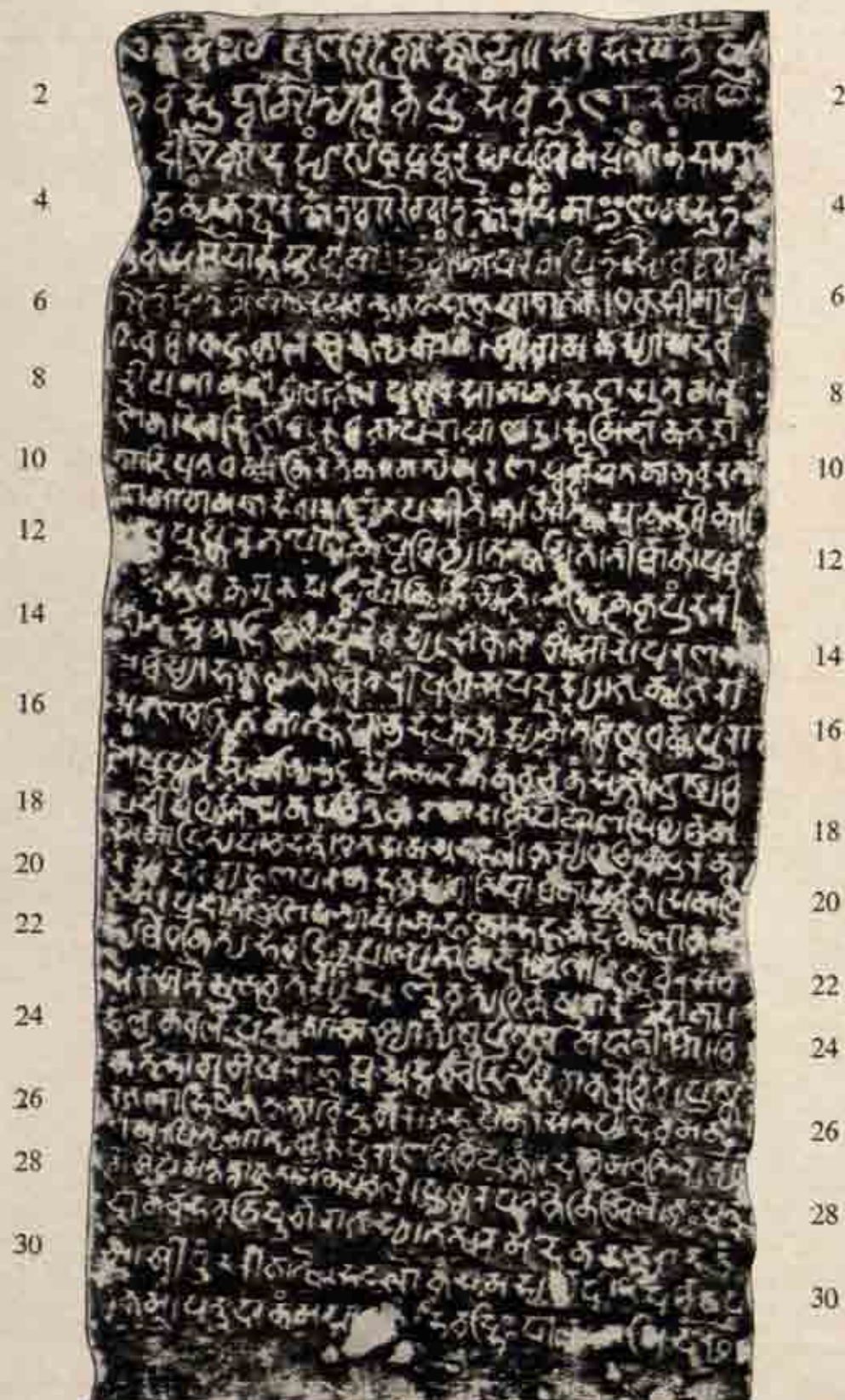
⁶ Read "āyāḥ".

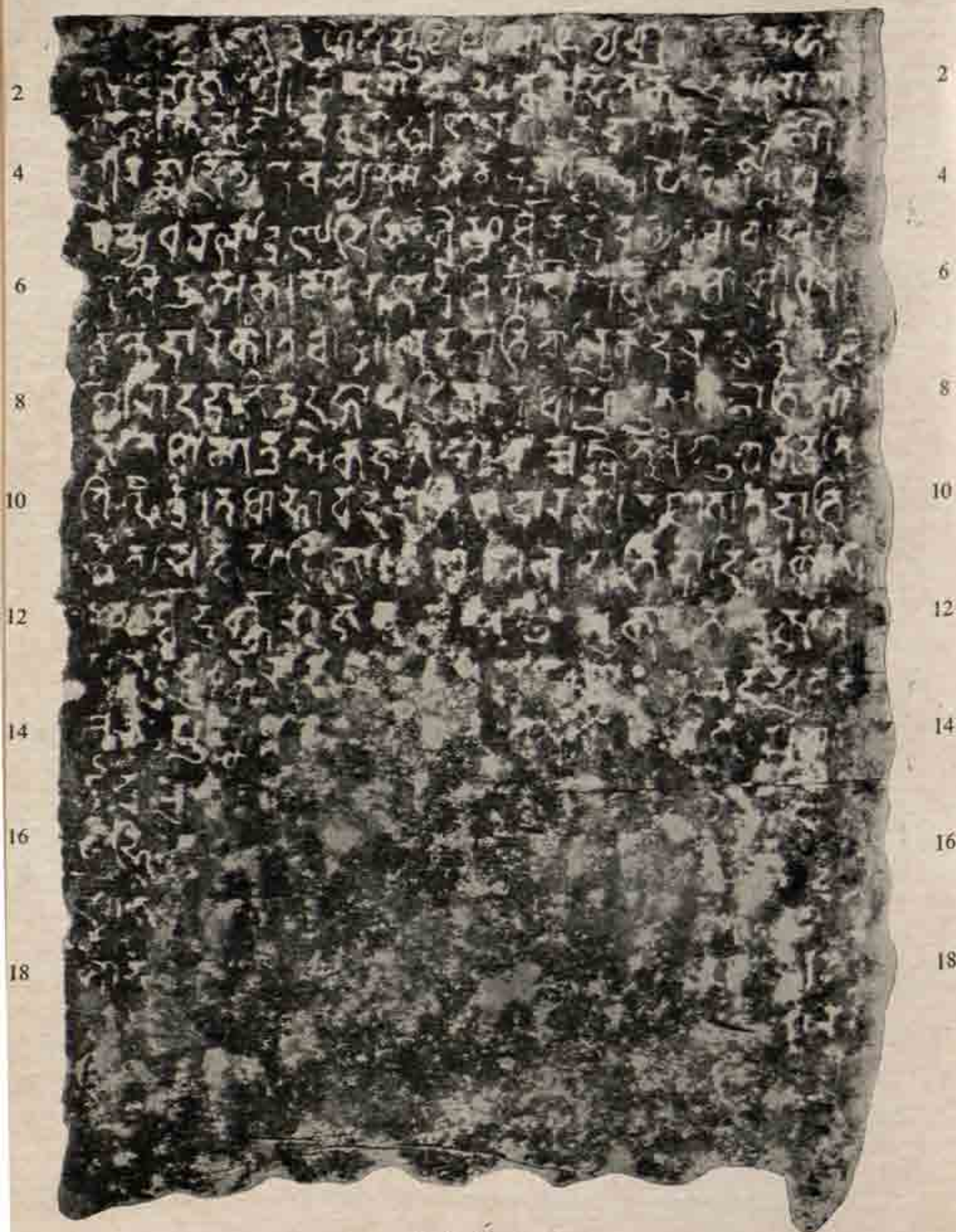
⁷ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁸ The Sanskrit form of the name may be *Mānāḍa*.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 996





- 22 bhavarthēdha¹ nityam bhavadbbhīh pālyatām-idam(dam) ||² Vishṇuvē³ | sadiva-
- 23 [t]sara-śatēshu navatēshu⁴ a(chatu)ṛṇavaty-adbhakēshu garē dānā⁵ |⁶
- 24 Pha(Phā)lguna-va(ba)[hu]⁷||ē pakshē-mā[v]āśyā⁸ Jyēshṭha-Pushkarē mahā-tirthō-
(rithō) |⁹ vi(dī)-
- 25 na(nō) tṛi(tri)-bhāga-śēshē rūm-pva(gra)stō dva(dvi)-khamḍita(tō) divākārē(ra)-vīmṇō(bō) |
Pushka-
- 26 ra-jat-ābhishēkam kṛtvā vai Durgarāja-bhūpēna | samtarpya dēva-manu-
- 27 [j]am¹⁰ |¹¹ pitṛi-mātṛi-guruṁ purāṇa-vidhī-yaktam(ktam) ||¹² Dadhi-madhū-tilāhṛjyā-¹³
- 28 mīśam hōmam kṛtvā hutāsa(sa)nē prava(ba)jō | Pushkara-patha(thi)kair-nikhilam |¹⁴ jah¹⁵
prattā(m)[itam]
- 29 dānam cha bhavati Durgarājasya¹⁶ || tat-parama-dēna(va)-bhaktiyā dattam
- 30 ma(yā¹⁷) |¹⁸ śrī-Pundarikākshē¹⁹ | Bhāṭṭa-lōkam samabhya[śchya] prīti-pra(prā)ṛthana-pū-
- 31 [r]vākam | ya(a)ttre dānam masā(yā) [kam]ra²⁰ bhavadbbhīh pālyatām-idam(dam) | o |²¹

2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Śiṃharāja, Vīkrama 1013

This epigraph, as stated above, is engraved on a pillar inside the Śiva temple at Thanwala. There are altogether twenty lines of writing covering an area 40 cm. in height and 33 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory especially in the lower part of the record. A large number of letters in lines 13-18 are more or less completely rubbed off while no letter is decipherable in the last two lines (lines 19-20).

The characters of the inscription are similar to those of No. 1 edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse as is the case with the other inscription. There is, however, some influence of the local dialect on the language and orthography of the epigraph.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date **Vīkrama 1013, Pausmasudi 5, solar eclipse**. The weekday is not quoted, while solar eclipse could have occurred only on an earlier new-moon day. The date falls in **December 956 A.D.**, though there was no solar eclipse in the near past according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

¹ Read 'bhavarthē'.

² There is a floral design between the double denjais. The metre of the verse is *Anuśṭuph*.

³ Read *viṣṇuvē*.

⁴ Read *śatēshu*.

⁵ It is tempting to suggest here *Guruday* or *Gurus diś*, though Thursday does not suit the date in question. Probably *gallakē-iddāśē* is intended.

⁶ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ Read *phālgunā*.

⁸ Read *yā*.

⁹ The metre of the verse is *Gh*.

¹⁰ Read *jam*.

¹¹ Read *jam*. The *akara* *rai* was omitted through oversight.

¹² If the word *Durgarājaya* is taken out, we may have a stanza in the *Arj* metre.

¹³ Read *hikāśya*.

¹⁴ Read *hōmam* or *hōmāśāśi*.

¹⁵ The metre of the verse is *Anuśṭuph*.

Lines 1-3 then introduce **Durgarāja** as devoted to the gods and Brāhmanas, as the son of **Chaharaka** and as the **Mahantaka** of **Mahārājādhirāja** **Simharāja**. We have already discussed the meaning of the designation **Mahantaka**. As also indicated above, **Mahārājādhirāja** **Simharāja** is no other than the **Chāhamāna** king of that name, who was the father of **Vigraharāja** of the **Hara** inscription of 973 A. D.

Lines 3-4 state that **Durgarāja** issued a grant in respect of some land situated in **Nandā-grāma** in favour of the deity **Rannādityadēva**. As we have explained elsewhere,¹ **Rannā** is the name of the wife of the Sun-god according to the popular mythology of Western India. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit name **Rājñī**, the name of a wife of the Sun-god according to the **Purāṇas**. Both the god and goddess may have been worshipped in the temple in question.

Lines 4-5 suggest that the said gift of land was intended to provide for a lamp (probably, a perpetual lamp) for the god as well as for the burning of incense before the deity, offering of food to him and whitewashing of the walls of his temple, etc.

After the above statement, the following gifts are specified in lines 6-11 : (1) **Kālīṇaka** (probably the name of a field) given by **Durgarāja** himself ; (2) **Chandṛaka** (possibly the name of another field) given by **Mālhaṇa** (probably the same as **Malhaṇa** of the inscription edited above) ; a **kēḍṛaka** (a marshy field) given by **Śrūlhara** ; (4) [a field called] **Chālukandara** given by **Sila** ; (5) the **paṭṭā** (meaning uncertain) called **Uḍubhā** given by **Mōchā** ; (6) a field (name uncertain) given by **Yavuka** ; (7) the **āgama-kṣētra** (probably, field near the entrance to the temple of **Rannāditya**) given by **Gugaka** ; (9) a **kēḍṛaka** given by **Sāva** ; (10) a **paṭṭā** belonging to **Āditya**, given by **Vāta** ; and (11) [a field called] **Dāḍimaka** given by **Sila**. A passage in lines 11-12 states that all the above gifts were added by **Durgarāja** to his own gift. This reminds us of the ratification of **Malhaṇa**'s grant by **Durgarāja** as recorded in the **Pushkar** inscription edited above.

A damaged passage in lines 12-13 apparently mentions a person who was 'the maker' no doubt of the inscription, i.e., the engraver of the record. His name is lost, but he was the son of **Sāvata** and obviously an officer of **Durgarāja**.

Line 14 mentions **Maru** (i.e. the country of **Marwar**) and also **Pushkara**, while the next line (line 15) seems to have referred to the permanent nature of the grant. Lines 15-17 contain parts of the well-known stanza *Bahubhiḥ=vasudhā dattā*, etc.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have been discussed above.

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham² [r*] Sa[m]vatu(vat) 1013 Pausa-sudī 5 āditya-grahanē mahā[rā]-
- 2 jādhirāj[ah](ja)-rī-Simgha(ha)rāj[ah](ja)-satka-mahāntakah Durggarāj[ah]
- 3 Chaharaka-sutah dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmana-ratah Nandā(dā)-grāma-bhūman
- 4 rī-Rannā³dityadēvasya śāśna[rā]-dadāti | dipō(pa) ś[ka][h*] | dhūpa(h(pa)-nāi-
- 5 [vā]dya-dhavalā-chū[r*]ṇ-ādihih irēyō-rthāna dēvasya⁴ [r*] tathā cha | satava-da[ti][h*]

* Above, Vol. XXII, p. 343.

² From inked impressions. In a recent note on this inscription, by D. Sharma (*Facsimil*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 2 ff.), it is said that it was first published by B. N. Rau and then by R. C. Agrawala (*Facsimil*, Vol. V, No. 1). The articles of Rau and Agrawala are not available to me.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The name is also spelt as *Rongō* or *Rūmō*.

⁵ Better read *eva-irēyō-rthāna dattā* *dhūpa*.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,
Government Epigraphist for India.

No. 34—SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.3.1961)

Two silver coins of the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi¹ (second century A.D.), bearing his bust on the obverse, have so far been known. Like similar coins of Gautamī-putra Yājña-Śātakarṇi, they were imitated from the silver issues of the Śakas of Western India and were apparently meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of the Śātavāhana dominions, which had been recently reconquered from the Śakas. The first of the two coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi was published by A.S. Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 59 ff., Plate II, Nos. 5-6, and the second by Dinkar Rao in the same journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, Plate I, No. 4, with Altekar's comments at pp. 13-17.

The legends on the obverse and reverse of the first coin (size—round, 6⁶; weight—28 grains) were read by Altekar respectively as *vaño Vasi(hi)-putasa [Śātakarṇi]*² and *Ara[kasha Vāsi(hi)-putasha hi]en-Hatakarṇi* though the reading is admittedly tentative and the illustrations of the coin do not enable us to check his reading of most of the letters. But, although Altekar thought otherwise, the legends and symbols, etc., on both the silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi appear to be identical.

The published illustration of the **second coin**, now in the possession of Mr. Rao of Hyderabad, is quite unsatisfactory. But recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office, visited Hyderabad where he met Rao and prepared some good plaster casts of the coin, which he kindly placed at my disposal for examination. It is a matter of gratification to me that I am now in a position to point out the errors in the published readings of the legends on this coin and in their interpretations. Its **reverse legend**, which has not yet been correctly read and interpreted, is of **great importance** as it not only helps us in restoring a damaged word in the legend on the reverse of the similar coins of Yājña-Śātakarṇi³ but also throws new light on the **Dravidian language and alphabet** of about the second century A.D. Two eye-copies of this legend, one prepared by Rao and another by Altekar, have been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 13. Neither of them is true to the original, though Rao's copy is closer to the original than Altekar's.

The **obverse** of the coin exhibits the bust of the king to right and circular legend in normal Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D., above the back of the head and to the front of the bust. This legend was read by Rao as *siri-Śātakarṇi vaño Vāsi(hi)-putasa*. Although the arrangement of the words in the legend looks like the above, we are inclined to read the right

¹ This name is spelt as both *Śātakarṇi* and *Sātakarṇi* while the name of the family, to which the kings bearing this name belonged, is spelt both as *Sāterakana* and as *Śāterakana*.

² Probably *siri* has been omitted before the name by Altekar. Macron over *s* and *c* has not been used in this article.

³ The legends on the obverse and reverse of Yājña-Śātakarṇi's coins were read by Rapson as *vaño Gotama-putasa siri-Yājña-Śātakarṇi* and *vaśa Gotama-putasha siri-Yājña-Hatakarṇi* respectively *Catalogue*, p. 45).

half beginning from XII (*mān Vāsiṭhi-putam*) before the left half ending at XII (*śiri-Sātakarṇi*) since this is the case with the reverse legend. We therefore read *raṣa Vāsiṭhi-putasa śiri-Sātakarṇi* (Sanskrit *vāsiṭh Vāsiṭhi-putrasya śiri-Sātakarṇeḥ*). [This is the coin] of the illustrious Sātakarṇi, the son of Vāsiṭhī (i.e., a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭha *gotra*).¹ This is also what Rapson has done in respect of the obverse and reverse legends of the silver coins of Yājña-Sātakarṇi.²

The reverse of the coin exhibits a number of symbols and circular legend in Southern Brāhmī characters along the border. This legend has been read by Rao as *Arihayaśa vāla-danḍa-dhā-Kaṇaśa śiri-Hātakaṇiśa*. He explains *arihaya* as 'the killer of enemies', *vāla-danḍa-dhā* as 'one who holds swords and sceptre' and *Kaṇa* as standing for *Kṛiṣṇa* which, in his opinion, may have been a secondary name of the king in question or indicate 'one who is like Kṛiṣṇa'. The difficulty in accepting Rao's interpretation of *vāla-danḍa-dhā* has been pointed out by Altekar. But the said reading of the passage is also impossible and Rao's reading and interpretation of *arihaya* and his explanation of *Kaṇa* are equally unsatisfactory.

Altekar reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Śiri-Hātakaṇiśa arahaṇaśa Vāsiṭha-Shathakarṇiśa* explained as '[Coin of] the worshipful Vāsiṭha (or Vāsiṭhī, i.e., Vāsiṭhīputra) Sātakarṇi of the respectable Sātakarṇi [dynasty]'. But this is as unsatisfactory as Rao's reading and interpretation.

In the first place, it is impossible to believe that the same name has been written here once as *Hātakaṇi* and for a second time as *Shāthakarṇi*.

Secondly, it is not explained why, in *Shathakarṇiśa*, *sh* at the beginning has a form altogether different from that of the same letter at the end.

Thirdly, the name of the family, to which the issuer of the coin belonged, was *Sātavāhana* and not *Sātakarṇi*.

Fourthly, Altekar says, 'The legend also shows the Tamilian practice of changing *ta* into *tha* in the word *Shāthakarṇiśa*'. But his reference to a Tamil practice in support of the change of *t* to *th* is due entirely to misunderstanding. The Tamil alphabet has only *t* for the four letters *t*, *th*, *d* and *dh* of the Sanskrit alphabet and likewise *l* for *l*, *lh*, *ḍ* and *ḍh*, though intervocal *t* and *l* are pronounced as *d* and *ḍ* respectively. The Tamil practice, which Altekar has misunderstood, is really that, when Tamil words or names are written in Roman characters, the sounds of *t* and *d* are reproduced respectively by *th* and *dh* only to distinguish them from those of *l* and *ḍ* which are written in English by *t* and *d* respectively.³

Fifthly, in Altekar's opinion, *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhī* is an abridged form of *Vāsiṭhī-putra*. Since, however, the words *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhī* (a man or woman belonging to the Vāsiṭha *gotra*) and *Vāsiṭhī-putra* (a man born of a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭha *gotra*) have significantly different meanings, we have doubts whether a sensible and responsible mint-master could have used the former in the sense of the latter.

Sixthly, Altekar's interpretation of *arahaṇa* as *arahaṇa*, 'the worshipful one', does not appear to be happy, because *arahaṇa* really means 'worship' and not 'worshipful'.

¹ Catalogue, p. 45.

² Altekar thinks that the mint-officer hailed from the Tamil country and that, after having spelt *Sātakaṇi* as *Sātakaṇiśa*, 'he then perhaps realised that that was not the pronunciation in his master's dominions and so he spelt the word the second time as *Hātakaṇiśa*' (op. cit., p. 15). Apart from the quite unconvincing nature of the conjecture, it may be pointed out that, in the legend as read by Altekar and quoted above, the word *Hātakaṇiśa* appears first and *Shāthakarṇiśa* later.

In our opinion, Rapson was perfectly right in thinking that the legends on the obverse and reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents¹ while Altekar is certainly wrong in thinking that the legends of the present coin offer a phenomenon quite different from those of the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi and that the obverse legend on it 'is considerably different' in contents from the legend on the reverse.²

The passage, which both Rao and Altekar have read wrongly, is quite clearly *Vah[ī]tti-māka-gasha* and is certainly not *vāladayadāhā-Ka-gasha* or *Vāhi(ha-Shahakayasha* which are both meaningless.

As we have seen, the obverse legend of the coin under study reads *raño Vāsishthi-putraḥ śrī-Sātakarṇa* (Sanskrit *rājāś Vāsiṣṭhi-putraya śrī-Sātakarṇe*), '[This is the coin] of the illustrious king Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsishthī'. There is no doubt that this legend in Sanskrit or Prakrit was translated into Dravidian Prakrit in the reverse legend which in our opinion clearly reads: *araha-gasha Vahitti-māka-gasha tīru-Hātakaṇa*. In this, *sha* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case-ending while *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are derived from Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively. Rapson rightly conjectured that the word in five or six syllables on the reverse of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins, which Bhagwanlal Indraji wrongly read as *Chaturapanasha* though he was himself sure only of its last two aksharas (viz. *pasha*), was probably equivalent to *raño*.³

The first of the two words is equivalent to Tamil and Malayalam *arachaṇ* or *arachaṇ*; Kannada *arasa*, *arasa*; Tulu *arasa*. In this word, viz. *arahaṇa*, *ha* represents the change of *s* or *ṣ* to *h* as in *Sātakarṇi* or *Sātakarṇi* modified to *Hātakaṇi*; cf. also the change of Sanskrit *śrī*-Prakrit *śrī* to *hīru* on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. The second word stands for Tamil and Malayalam *makaṇ* (*magan*), *maka(maga)*; Kannada *magan*, *maga*, *magan*; Tulu *maga*. It will be seen that the Dravidian words ending in a final consonant have been made to end in *a* as in cases like Tamil *nir* and *mīn* adopted in Sanskrit as *nīra* and *mīna*, the latter probably coming back to Tamil as *mīnam* (cf. Telugu *nīru*, *nīram*; *mīnu*, *mīnam*). In *māgaṇa*, both *mā* and *ga* are intentional. It may be pointed out that the word *arahaṇa* is spelt with *ṣ* also on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. But, even if *ṣ* is regarded as due to a Prakrit convention, the length of the vowel in *mā* may be assigned to the original pronunciation of the word.⁴

Vahitti is of course the same as Sanskrit *Vāsiṣṭhi*-Prakrit *Vāhiṣṭhi* with the absence of aspiration while *tīru* is the modification of Sanskrit *śrī*-Prakrit *śrī* as used in modern Tamil. The word *tīru*, as we have seen, is written as *hīru* in the reverse legend of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins. As regards *śrī-śrī-hīru*, Rapson drew our attention to *Sāta-Sāta-Hāla* and *Sakti-Haku* as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Śātavāhana family.

It is interesting to note that the originals of neither of the two words of Dravidian origin used in the legend, viz., *arahaṇa*-*arahaṇa* and *makaṇa*-*mākaṇa*, are now traceable in Telugu⁵ which appears to have been the mother-tongue of the Śātavāhana kings called Andhra in the Purāṇas. That the phonology and vocabulary of Telugu were much nearer Tamil in the second century A.D., seems also to be clear from the occurrence of the two words in the Prakrit legend on the coin.

¹ Cf. *Catalogue*, pp. xi-xci.

² *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 15.

³ *Catalogue*, p. xci.

⁴ A Dravidian palaeographical characteristic, indicated by the Bhattiprola inscriptions (above, Vol. II, p. 324), is the representation of the consonant with the inherent *u* by an *u*-matra-like sign except when it was endowed with an *anuvāsa*. We do not think that this has any bearing on the length of *mā* especially in view of the occurrence of *mākaṇa* in a Reḥmīl inscription in the Undākal cave in the Madurai District (*Proc. Trans. 3rd Or. Conf.*, Madras, 1924, p. 299).

⁵ Cf., however, *magan* used in the sense of 'son' in Telugu inscriptions (*SI*, Vol. X, Nos. 602, 632, etc.). As regards *arahaṇa*, A. N. Narasimha (*A Grammar of the Old Kannada Inscriptions*, p. 277) gives *arasa* as a Telugu word without quoting any reference.

under study. It is further clear, as already known, that Tamil has retained some of the characteristics of the original Dravidian language till the present time while greater impact of Sanskrit has caused their disappearance from Telugu.

The **palaeography** of the reverse legend exhibits close resemblance of the characters with those of the reverse legend on the similar coins of Yājña-Sātakarṇi. The letters that are written in forms different from those of normal Brāhmī are *m*, *śh* and *k*. The letter *m* as reproduced by Rapson from Yājña-Sātakarṇi's coins has a shorter and more angular form than the same letter on the present coin; but this lumpy form with the roundish lower limb is remarkably similar to the form of *m* as found in the Arittapatti and Arihamedu inscriptions.¹ It is difficult to say whether the modified forms of the letters, at least of *k* and *śh* which did not exist in the Dravidian language, were used to indicate a modification in the sounds. We have seen that *s* in Prakrit *siv* has been represented by *k* and *t* while, in Prakrit *Sāhokasa*, the first *s* is represented by *k* and the second by *śh* although the sound of neither existed in Dravidian. It is not impossible that the letter *k* represented a half aspirate and *śh* the Dravidian *ch*-*ś* (a sound like *ts*).

But the more important **palaeographical feature** of the legend under study is the dot placed to the right of *t* in *Vatatti* to indicate final *t*. This sign, called *pulṭi* in Tamil and now universally used only in Tamil amongst the alphabets of the Dravidian group of languages, is indicated by a dot above the consonant. It is found in Tamil inscriptions only rarely from about the 7th century A.D.² That the fashion of indicating the final consonant by a *pulṭi* was known in Tamil writing in still earlier times is indicated by the *Takkappayam* which does not appear to belong to a date later than the 5th century A.D.³ But the present coin not only shows that the fashion was known in the second century A.D. but also that it was originally used in writing other languages of the Dravidian group such as early Telugu. Although the *pulṭi* is now put above a letter in Tamil writing, the dot is placed to the right of the consonant in the legend of our coin probably to distinguish this sign of a final consonant from the usual *śaśvāra* mark. Thus the *pulṭi* may have been put to the right of the consonant in the early centuries of the Christian era.

King **Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarṇi** who issued the coin under study is known from the Kanheri inscription⁴ of his queen who was a daughter of the Śaka *Mahāśakabhoja* Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.). As we have suggested elsewhere,⁵ he was apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsishṭhi-putra Puṣumāvi, son of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-59 A.D.), and was not identical with Puṣumāvi as supposed by Rapson. Because his mention in the Purāṇas is not quite clear, we formerly supposed that he may have been a viceroy of his father-in-law Rudradāman I in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) or, if he ruled as a king, the said tract may have been conquered by him after Rudradāman's death.⁶ But the issue of the coins would suggest that he ruled as a king for some time. Since he appears to have succeeded in conquering the Aparānta area of the Śaka kingdom after the middle of the second century A.D., he must have been a successor of Puṣumāvi.⁷ Before the discovery of Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarṇi's silver coins, the Śātavāhana conquest

¹ See *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 110; cf. the shorter form of the letter with roundish bottom in the inscriptions from Madurai, Sittamparam and various places in the Tirunelveli District other than Arittapatti.

² See T. N. Subramaniam, *SITJ*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 1340-41.

³ See *Sātra* 15 stating that 'a pure consonant will have a dot added to it'; cf. T. N. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 1508.

⁴ See Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 4, No. 17.

⁵ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 208.

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ If the name of Puṣumāvi has been correctly read on a silver coin of the same type as ours published in *JNRI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Plate I, Nos. 1-2, it is possible to ascribe the reconquest of Aparānta to Puṣumāvi (c. 120-59 A.D.) himself about the end of his reign. Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarṇi may be identical with Puṣumāvi's successor Sivaśi Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas and Vāsishṭhi-putra Sivaśi Sātakarṇi of coins. Cf. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. ixvii (No. 25), 29.

SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

Enlarged



(from Photograph)

of Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman I was ascribed to Yajña-Sātakarṇi¹ who ruled about the close of the second century A.D. It should also be remembered that the Śaka-type silver coins of the successors of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi may have been meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which had been conquered by that king from the Kahakarāta-Sakas but was not reconquered by the Kādamaka-Sakas, though Aparānta also very soon passed once again to the Later Śātavāhanas.

The use of the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu) in the legend of this and a few other Śātavāhana silver issues belonging to Yajña-Sātakarṇi is very interesting. As we have seen, the Śātavāhana kings were Andhras while wide areas of the present-day Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the people called Andhras formed parts of their dominions. They may or may not have ruled over any part of the land where the Tamil language is now spoken. Apparently Telugu, which was in olden times closer to Tamil than it is now, was the mother tongue of the Śātavāhanas and they wanted to exhibit their Dravidian character by using an admixture of that language and Sanskritic Prakrit in the reverse legend on their coins meant for circulation in the northernmost provinces conquered from the Sakas. The real reason for their eagerness to exhibit their Dravidianism in the said area, where the coins of the Sakas were in popular use, cannot be determined.

On the inadequate evidence of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's silver coins, Rapson suggested that the occurrence of the 'local Prakrit, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District', 'like that of the alphabet associated with it, on the coins of Śrī-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country and may be compared to the use of Kharoṣṭhi on the coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Caastana'.² There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this view. Firstly, it does not explain why this dialect and alphabet are found only in a few issues of the Later Śātavāhanas, which were specially meant for circulation in a limited area in the northern part of their dominions. Secondly, there is little evidence that the original home of the Śātavāhana dynasty was in the Krishna District while there is some evidence to show that the Andhra people moved southwards to the present-day Telugu-speaking area from the Vindhyan region.³ The use of the Dravidian Prakrit and alphabet may have been more widely spread in the age in question. The show of Dravidianism only on the Śaka-type coinage of the Śātavāhanas is, however, difficult to explain without further light on the subject.

Description

(Silver; round—·6" diameter; 25 grains)

Obverse: Bust of the king to right; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon; crest-jewel, offering a side view and looking like a flower to front, above the forehead;⁴ legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust; the right part beginning from XII reads: *vañō Vāsi(hīpu)ṭasa*, and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads: *siri-Sātakarṇi*.

¹ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 298. For his inscriptions at Kanheri in Aparānta, cf. Rapson, op. cit., p. iii.

² Op. cit., p. xic.

³ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 194.

⁴ Rao thinks that the king's frizzled curly hair is 'tied in a knot by a decorative ribbon at the centre of his forehead in a peculiar style, so as to form a round ball resembling a flower bouquet'. But Altekar points out that the said object can also be a crest jewel. He also doubts whether 'frizzled hair can be tied in a knot', though Rao probably means a knot of the ribbon and not the hair. The object is, however, clearly a flower design and the flat position in which it is depicted shows that it offers only the side view of the decorative jewel above the king's forehead. The same object is also found above the forehead of the king on the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi.

Reverse : Ujjayini symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right ; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above ; continuous circular legend around starting from and ending at XII : *śaśakapaska Vah[ī]ti-mākanaska nra-Hātakapaska.*

No. 35—MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.3.1961)

The inscription edited below was copied by me in December 1960 at **Mallēsvaram** in the Kollapur Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph is engraved on three sides of a **pillar** set up in the compound of the Agastēsvaram temple, situated about a mile from the village on the banks of the Krishnā river. The temple is built in what is known as the Chālukyan style of architecture. Besides the present record, there are other inscriptions in the temple belonging to the time of Chālukya Jagadēkamalla (Jayasīnha II, 1016-1044 A.D.) and Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI, 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kakatiya king Pratāparudra II (1200-1326 A.D.).

The first side of the pillar containing the inscription under study bears at the top the figure of a **śiṅga** below which is a bull (*Nandi*) sitting and facing proper left. The record commences immediately below this figure of the bull. The first side contains 22 lines, the second 26 lines and the third 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 63 lines. The left end of the first side of the pillar has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of one letter at the beginning of each line in lines 1-18. Similarly, the right-hand edge of the second side has been damaged affecting one or two letters in each line. These letters can, however, be restored from the context without any difficulty.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannada alphabet and are quite regular for the period to which the epigraph purports to belong, viz., the **middle of the eleventh century A.D.** The language is Kannada prose except the three benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any special remarks, except that Sanskrit *l* is spelt as *ḷ* in words like *kuḷa-tṭakani* (line 5), *Trailōkya*¹ (line 7), *mahāmaṇḍalēsvaram* (lines 14, 31), *Chālukya* (line 19), *kālē kālē pālaniyō* (lines 54-55) which feature is quite common in Kannada inscriptions.

The inscription is dated **Saka 973, Khara, Kārttika ba. 7, Sunday**. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the week-day, i.e. Sunday, coincided with the *tithi* ba. 6 instead of ba. 7 and corresponded to **27th October 1051 A.D.** The record belongs to the reign of **Trailōkyamalladēva** (Sāmāvara I, 1044-68 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family of Kalyāṇa.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the gift, made on the date discussed above, by prince (*kumāra*) **Vijayāditya** and **Mailaladēvi** to the temple of god Agastēsvara. The temple is known by the same name even today. The gift was entrusted to **Vidhīsvara-paṇḍita** and consisted of two villages the names of which appear to read **Pimmanah** or **Banmanah** and **Pittugath** or **Battugath**.² These villages are stated to have been situated in **Estapi-90** which was a *kampana* or division of **Vaḍḍavapi-500** in the **Kamūr nāḍu** or province. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of the bath (*māṇa*) at **Āṅāra-tīrtha**.

¹ The difference in the reading of the first letter is due to the fact that *Ṭ* and *Ḹ* look alike. It is possible to take these two donated villages as representing a single place-name. But since the donors are two, it is better to take them as two names, one donated by Vijayāditya and the other by Mailaladēvi.

Majjaladēvi was one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I and some records style her as the chief queen (*prīṭiparāṣī*).¹ Prince (*kumāra*) Vijayāditya, who is mentioned as a donor in association with Majjaladēvi, is introduced in lines 11-33 with a string of feudatory and other titles. Among the feudatory titles may be noted *rat-pāda-pada-opajīva*, *samadhigata-paṇchamahāśabāḥ*, *Mahā-maṇḍalīśvara* and *Traśīkya-malladēva-pāda-parīkṣa-lāṣṭhara*. It is a matter of common knowledge that the princes and other blood-relatives of the ruling sovereign, appointed as governors of some territory, were endowed with such feudatory titles.² We are, however, not told in the present record as to which territory prince Vijayāditya was governing as *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara*. The other epithets associated with this prince in the record are: *Vīra-Mahāśvaraṣī*, *ayyana-siṅgaṣī*, *vīśvānu-tuṅgaṣī*, *vīśvī-mada-mardanaṣī*, *pralāpa-Janārdanaṣī*, *achūṭa-vākyāṣī*, *Chālukya-māyikyaṣī*, *vijayaśī-kēṭi-sūdanaṣī*, *abhinava-Madanaṣī*, *vijayakṣa-kula-lāṣṭha-dāyakaṣī*, *vīra-mārttaṣī*, *śīla-śūṭha-chīntāmaṣī*, *maṇḍalika-chūdāmaṣī*, *ari-rāya-kumāra-kridaya-sellam* and *sāhasa-mallam*.

The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it helps us in establishing the identity of Vijayāditya. The expressions *kumāra*, *Chālukya-māyikya*, 'a ruby of the Chālukyas', and *ayyana-siṅga*, 'a lion or champion of his father', coupled with the fact that he made the grant in association with Majjaladēvi, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēśvara I, probably born of that queen. We know that Sōmēśvara I had at least three sons, viz. Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) and Jayasinha IV* (did not ascend the throne). But there is some controversy on the question whether Sōmēśvara I had a fourth son called Vijayāditya or Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya.

There are a number of inscriptions³ belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara I which refer to a certain Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya-mahārāja as the son and feudatory of the ruling king. The terms used in giving his relationship to Sōmēśvara I are *nandana*, *sūnu*, *putra* and *maga*, all meaning 'a son'. This feudatory is endowed with the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vāḍḍimayadātīśvara*. In 1891, when Fleet knew of only one such inscription,⁴ he was inclined to regard, on account of the titles *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vāḍḍimayadātīśvara* associated with the name Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, that the latter must have been of Eastern Chālukya descent and that the term *nandana*, which was used through courtesy, need not be understood literally.⁵ He was, however, careful enough, even then, to observe that the fact that, in an inscription dated in 1064-65 A. D., Jayasinha IV is described as 'born in the Pallava lineage' and as having the title of 'lord of Kāñcī, the best of cities', may be used as an argument that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya was in reality a son of Sōmēśvara I.⁶ Later, in 1896-97, while editing the Jatinga-Rāmēśvara hill inscription⁷ of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya dated in 1064 A. D., the same scholar observed, "The terms used to denote the relationship of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I, are *maga* here and *nandana* in his Dāvagere inscription. . . . Elsewhere, and at a time when I knew of only the Dāvagere record, I questioned the literal applications of them in this case (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX,

¹ Cf. *SIJ.*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 83 and 103.

² Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, is introduced with such titles in the early records of the latter (*CE. SIJ.*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 84 and 102).

³ In all the works on Karnatak history, this Jayasinha is referred to as Jayasinha III. But since a few records have brought to light an earlier Jayasinha in the person of a brother of Sōmēśvara I (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 27 ff.), Jayasinha, son of Sōmēśvara I, should now be called Jayasinha IV.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvagere 11 and Chitaldurg 47; above Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.; *SIJ.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-76; Vol. IX, Part I, No. 126.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvagere 11.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 277-78; cf. also *SIJ.*, Vol. III, p. 65.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.

pp. 277 f.)..... Facts have come to light, however, which show that certain titles which, one would imagine, would only go by line of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maga* and *sandana* should be accepted literally.¹

Thus, although Fleet himself revised, on mature consideration, his opinion regarding the identity of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, some scholars continued to hold the view that he was a member of the Eastern Chālukya house of Vāṅgi. In the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76, it has been stated that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I was an Eastern Chālukya prince who was a viceroys under the Western Chālukya monarch.

N. Venkataramanayya has dealt with this problem at great length in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅgi* (1950), pp. 250 ff.² Disagreeing with Fleet, he has arrived at the conclusion that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, should be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII of Vāṅgi.³ His arguments may be summed up as follows: (1) The titles such as *Sarvalokāśraya*, *Vāṅgimayalāśvara*, *Chālukya-māyāya*, etc., borne by this prince (mentioned in the records of the time of Sōmēśvara I) distinctly point to his Eastern Chālukya origin. (2) The terms *putra*, *sandana*, *sūnu*, *suṅga*, etc., are very wide in their application and are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides one's own male issue. Hence the evidence of these terms is not quite conclusive. (3) The contemporary inscriptions, other than those under reference, and Bilhaya's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, while enumerating the sons of Sōmēśvara I, omit the name of Vijayāditya. (4) Vāṅgi was in the hands of the Western Chālukyas from the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, i.e. 1044 A.D., down to 1067 A.D. On the death of the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., Vijayāditya VII seized the Vāṅgi throne with the approval of Sōmēśvara I and remained, like his namesake described as the son of Sōmēśvara I, a vassal of the Western Chālukya monarch. (5) Both of them had the double name Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) No title indicative of the position of the *sāmanta* is associated with either of their names. While the *sāmantas*, the princes of the blood and even the heirs-presumptive are invariably styled *samadhigata-pāścha-mahāśabda*, this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *prasaśita* of both the Vishnupardhana-Vijayādityas. Both of them are called *Mahārāja*. Therefore the so-called son of Sōmēśvara was not a mere *sāmanta* but a subordinate ally, superior in status even to the princes of the blood.

It is not possible to agree either with the arguments or with the conclusion of Venkataramanayya. Let us consider the value of his arguments. But before doing so, we may point out that prince Vijayāditya of the epigraph under study is the same as Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, described specifically as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in some records referred to above and only as a feudatory in others and as ruling over Nolambavāḍi or the adjoining territory.⁴ For almost all the fifteen epithets, associated with the prince in our record and listed above, are also found attributed to Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, son of Sōmēśvara I.⁵ (1) Venkataramanayya

¹ Ibid., p. 212, note 3; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 454, note 5; also cf. *SHI*, Vol. III, p. 128, note 9.

² D. C. Ganguly does not discuss this question in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, nor is there any reference to it in the chapter on Eastern Chālukyas in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 204.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri did not accept the identification of the two Vijayādityas in the first edition of his book, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, pp. 341-43. But in the revised edition (1955, p. 287), he seems to have changed his opinion apparently under the influence of N. Venkataramanayya's arguments, and appears to uphold the identification.

⁴ Cf. *SHI*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 127-29; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dāvanagere 141.

⁵ Cf. *SHI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-75; Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 126-29.

attaches too much importance to the titles *Sarvalakṣya* and *Vāṅgimayalēśvara*. Both these titles are absent in our record. The former is only a general title like *Samastabharandāra* while the title *Vāṅgimayalēśvara* appears to indicate only a formal investiture of provincial authority on the royal prince by Sōmēśvara I. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, was also endowed with the title *Vāṅgipuravarēśvara* in the records¹ of the time of his father while his brother Jayasinha IV was called *Kāñchikpuravarēśvara*.² And what is more important is the fact that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya himself bears the title *Kāñchikpuravarēśvara* in our record, as will be shown below. Moreover, neither the title *Vāṅgimayalēśvara* or *Vāṅgipuravarēśvara* nor any of the epithets enumerated in the list given above is associated with the name of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII either in his own records or in any other inscriptions of his family. (2) The terms *manlana*, *sūna*, *putra* and *maga* used to indicate the relationship of Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I should *prima facie* be understood, as has been done by Fleet, in their real sense unless there is enough evidence to prove the contrary. (3) The omission of Vijayāditya's name in Bilhana's *Vikramāditya-charita* and in some epigraphical records is only an *argumentum ex silentio* and cannot exclude the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a fourth son in the person of Vijayāditya. It may be observed in this connection that only a few records reveal the existence of a brother of Sōmēśvara I in the person of Jayasinha while the rest of them omit his name.³ The omission of Vijayāditya's name in some records may be due to the fact that he was born of queen Majjaladēvi while the remaining three brothers were born to another queen named Bāhuladēvi. (4-5) That the Eastern Chālukya ruler Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya secured the Vāṅgi throne in 1060-61 with the help of Sōmēśvara I and that he had the double name are no grounds for excluding the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a son called Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) Some of the records⁴ consulted by Venkataramanayya himself use the expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi* and *tat-pāda-padm-ārūhaka* and *manḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* which clearly indicate as much a feudatory status as the expression *samadhigata-pāñcha-mahākābha*. Further, our inscription introduces Vijayāditya with both the titles *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi* and *samadhigata-pāñcha-mahākābha*. And the title *Mahārāja* associated with this Vijayāditya indicates nothing. Some members of the Telugu-Chōja family, who were governing the Karnool and Anantapur area as local chiefs under the Western Chālukya kings, also bore this epithet, e.g. Chiddāga-Chōja-mahārāja and Bijjāga-Chōja-mahārāja.⁵

A damaged inscription⁶ from Niralgi in the Dharwar District belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara II and dated in 1074 A.D. seems to refer to his brothers Vikramāditya VI and Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, the latter with the titles *Kāñchikpuravarēśvara* and *Bhuvanikamallā-Pallava-Pernānafi* which are usually found associated with Jayasinha IV. The preserved portion of the name reads as *Vā... [ja]yāditya* and the damaged portion has just enough space for the letters *shunpardhana-Vi*. Although Fleet has drawn attention to the existence of this record,⁷ Venkataramanayya has ignored it probably because the date 1074 A.D. for Vijayāditya goes against the theory of his identification with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name.

¹ *III*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 34 and 102.

² *Ibid.*, No. 110.

³ See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 20.

⁴ *III*, Vol. VI, No. 373; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvanagere 141.

⁵ See *III*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123 and *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 50.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B-227.

⁷ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 444, note I and p. 454.

Thus the above discussion would make it clear that prince Vijayāditya of the inscription under study as well as Vishnunarāyaṇa-Vijayāditya mentioned in other Western Chālukya records is none else than a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I and that he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII.¹ Incidentally our epigraph supplies the earliest known date for Vijayāditya, viz. 1051 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identity of poet Kirtivarman, the author of the Kannada work *Gōvaidya*. In this work as well as in another work called *Samaga-parikāṣa* by Brahmasīva, Kirtivarman is called *varēndra*, *jagadīdātha* and *dharaṇīpati* while his father is stated to have been king Trailōkyamalla and elder brother Vikramānkanarēndra. From this description R. Narasimhaiah suggested² that Kirtivarman must be identified either with Jayasinha IV or Vishnunarāyaṇa-Vijayāditya who were the sons of Sōmēśvara I. He also thought that the poet lived about 1100 A.D. On the ground that no son of Sōmēśvara I named Kirtivarman is known from any other source, A. Venkatasubbiah disagreed with the above view and suggested that Kirtivarman might have been only a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I and that the terms indicating his relationship to this Chālukya monarch as well as to Vikramāditya VI should not be understood in their literal sense.³ In this connection, N. L. Rao⁴ has drawn the attention of scholars to a verse occurring in an undated inscription⁵ of the time of Tribhuvanamalladeva or Vikramāditya VI. The verse reads as follows:

*Manuṁ-ah-āhvacamalladevaṁ dharitricallabhaṁ Sōmidevaṁ Permmāṇaḍi-Vikramānkanara
Nolambavāḍi-tvara-Singidē |*

*raṁa Bēṁḡipati-Vishnunarāyaṇa-dharaḍhīśaṁ-ara-Kirtivarmanā rājyaḥk-abhivēdhiy-ahke
śubham-aḥk-ā-śaṁdra-tīraṁbaram |*

¹ The career of this Vijayāditya VII as chalked out by Venkataramanayya is something as follows. On the death of his father Vimalāditya in 1019 A.D., he tried to seize the Vēṅgi throne from his half-brother Rājārāja I, but, failing in his attempt, went into exile in the Kalinga kingdom; later he took refuge in the Western Chālukya territory and seized the Vēṅgi throne in 1031 A.D. and was again dislodged within a short period. He then returned to the Western Chālukya kingdom where he was appointed, during the reign of Sōmēśvara I, as the governor of the Nolambavāḍi province and assumed many titles like *Chālukya-māyika*, *Ayyana-naga*, etc., and described himself as the son of Sōmēśvara I. On the death of Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., he once again seized the Vēṅgi throne but appointed his son Śaktivarman II as the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself preferring to remain in the Western Chālukya kingdom. Though his son died after a rule of one year, he appointed his ministers to carry on the administration of the Vēṅgi kingdom and himself continued to be the governor of Nolambavāḍi under Sōmēśvara I. He was finally permitted by Sōmēśvara I to leave Nolambavāḍi and return to his country shortly after 1066 A.D. when the Chōla monarch Virarājendra invaded Vēṅgi. He submitted to the Chōla king who bestowed on him the Vēṅgi kingdom in preference to his own nephew and heir-apparent Rājendra, son of Rājārāja I. Soon after this, Vikramāditya VI, son of Sōmēśvara I, marched through Vēṅgi and Vijayāditya VII repudiated his agreement with the Chōla king and joined the Western Chālukyas. The Chōla king re-conquered Vēṅgi in 1067 A.D. and expelled Vijayāditya VII from the Vēṅgi kingdom for his act of treachery. This time Vijayāditya VII sought refuge at the court of the Kalinga king Rājārāja I Devendravarman. He was, however, restored to the Vēṅgi throne sometime before 1072 A.D., when the then ruling king Rājendra left Vēṅgi to become the Chōla monarch under the name of Kulōttunga-Chōla. Shortly afterwards the Vēṅgi country was invaded by the Chōla and Eastern Gāṅga kings and Vijayāditya VII, as last, died in 1076 A.D.

Apart from the fact that the suggested identification of Vijayāditya VII with the homonymous son of Sōmēśvara I has been shown to be wrong, such an unheard of career for a king can hardly convince any serious student of history. Besides, there are many discrepancies in the dates in the above account.

² *Kareḍake Kavi Charita* (Kannada), Vol. I (revised edition), pp. 129 ff. and correction to first Volume, p. 7.

³ *Kelusa Kannada Kavigala Jinnakāḍavichāra*, p. 206.

⁴ *Kannada Śāhitya Pariśat Patrika*, Vol. 28, Part 1, pp. 1-4.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. IX, Part 1, No. 220.

As pointed out by Rao, the verse refers to the four sons of Sōmēśvara I and shows clearly that not only *Bhūgipati* Viṣṇuvardhana, elsewhere called Vijayāditya or Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, was a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I but also that he was the same as the poet Kirtivarman who, as pointed out above, was endowed with royal epithets like *śarvānātha* and *dharmāṣṭipati*.¹

As already stated, the epigraph containing the verse discussed above belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI but is not dated. It is not possible to say whether Vijayāditya was alive at the time of this record. Assuming that the record belongs to the early part of Vikramāditya's reign and that Vijayāditya was then alive, Rao has roughly assigned the latter to the period 1060-80 A.D.² But we now know from the present inscription that Vijayāditya lived as early as 1051 A.D. Therefore we may assign him approximately to the period 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are the villages of Pinmanath or Banmanath and Pittugamath or Battugamath, Ettapi-90 in which the donated villages were located, Vaddavani-500 of which Ettapi-90 was a *kaṣṭapa* or division, Kandūr-nādu which comprised Vaddavani-500 division and Ānāra-tīrtha. Kandūr-nādu may be identified with the area round about modern Kandur in Wanaparti Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, which is situated at a distance of about 35 miles north-north-east of Mallēsvaram, the find-spot of the record under review. Vaddavani-500 may be modern Waddemanni, about 15 miles east-south-east of Kandur. Ettapi-90 is apparently the same as Yetham, about 15 miles to the north of Mallēsvaram. I am unable to identify the remaining places.³

TEXT⁴

First side

- 1 [Eva]sti [i*] Samasta-bhuvan-[ā]-
- 2 [ra]ya-śri-prithvi⁵vallaḥḥa-
- 3 [mahā]rājādhirāja-paramā-
- 4 [śvara]-paramabhaṭṭārakam Sa-
- 5 [tyā]śraya-kuja-tījakam Ch[ā]-
- 6 [u]ky-ābharanam śrīma-
- 7 [r-Trai]śōkyamalladāvara vi-
- 8 [ja]yarājyam=uttar-ōtta-
- 9 [r-ā]bhivridhdhi⁶-pravandhdha⁷mā[na]-

¹ For some unwarranted conjectures about this Kirtivarman, see *Prabuddha Kāvāṇṇa*, Vol. 41, Part 3, pp. 61 ff.

² Loc. cit.

³ I am indebted to Shri G. Ramakrishna Sarma of Alampur for suggesting the identification of some place names.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Read *prithvi*.

⁶ Read **vridhdhi*.

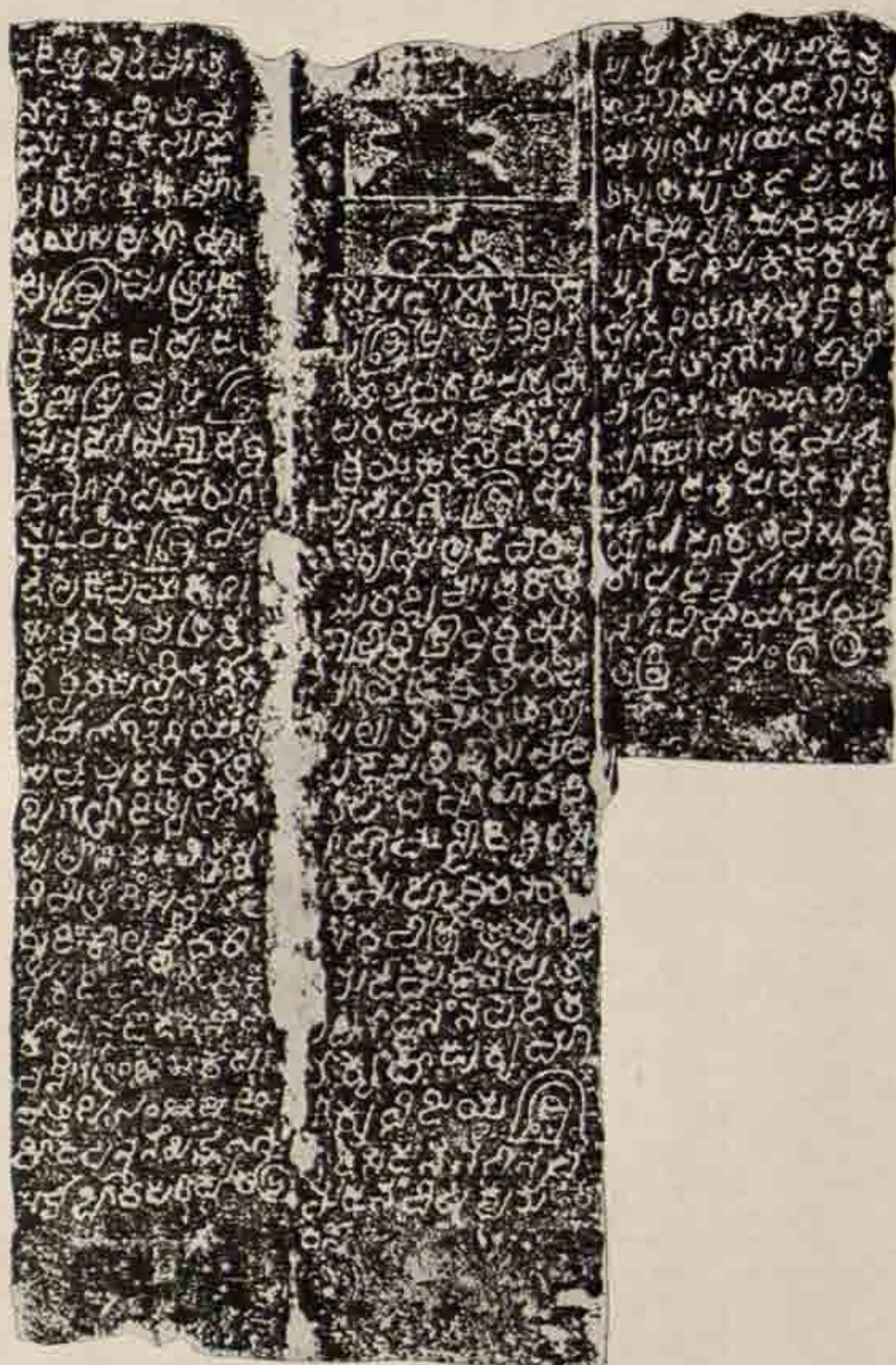
⁷ Read *prāva* (16a).

MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

Second Side

First Side

Third Side



Scale : One-sixth

- 10 m=ś-chaṇḍr-śrīks-tāraṇba-
 11 [raṇ] saluttam-ire [i] tat-pā-
 12 [da]-padm-ōpaṭvi samadhi-
 13 [gata]-paṭicha-mā(ma)hāśabda
 14 [mā(ma)]hāmaṇḍaśvara[ra] [śrī(śrī)]-
 15 [Vi]ṣṇuśvaraṇ-ay[ya]-
 16 [na]-śrīga[ra] vikrānta-tuṅga[ra] vū]-
 17 [ri]-maḍa-marddanam pratā-
 18 [pa]-janārdanama-chaṭita-
 19 vākyaś Chāḷukya-mā-
 20 pūkyam vijaya-śrī-
 21 kōḷi-sadanam-abhinava-
 22 Madanam vipakṣa-kuṣa-ka(kā)-

Second Side

- 23 [aṇi(da)ṇḍam vi(vi)ra-mārtta[ṇḍam]
 24 [di]n-ānātha-chintāma-
 25 [ni] maṇḍaṭika-chūḍā[ma]-
 26 [ui] ari-rāya-kumā[ra]-
 27 [hri]daya-sella[ra] sāha[sa]-
 28 [ma]ḷla[ra] śrīma[ra]-Trailō-
 29 [kya]malladēva-pāda-[paṇ]-
 30 kaṣa-pra(bhṛa)maruṇ śrī-
 31 ma-mahāmaṇḍaśeva[raṇ]
 32 kumāra-Vijayā[di]-
 33 tyadēvaruṇ śrīma[n-Mai]-
 34 [aladēviyaruṇ A[ga]-
 35 atēvarada cha(chha)trakke [Vi]-
 36 dhāvara-paṇḍitarge Sa(Śa)[ka]
 37 varsha 973 naya Kha[ra]-

- 38 saṁvatsarada Kārtti[ka]
 39 ba 7 Ādityavāra[daṁ]-
 40 du Āpāra[da] tīrttha-sū[na]-
 41 nīmittadiṁ sarva-na[ma]-
 42 sya(sya)diṁ kāl-garuchi dhār[pā]-
 43 revakadiṁ daye geyda ko[ṭṭa]-
 44 r-Kharidūr-mā[olagaṇa] Va[ḍḍa]-
 45 vaṇi 500raṇa kaṁpaṇa
 46 Ettapi 90ra baḷi[ya]
 47 bāḷa Pinmanam¹ Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m]
 48 sarva-bādhā-parihāra ārī [!]*

Third Side

- 49 Bahubbis=vvaandā(dhā) datt[ā]
 50 rājahhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ [!]
 51 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h]
 52 tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)a[m] [!]
 53 Sāmānyō-yad dharma-sē-
 54 tur-nipāṇāṁ² kālā kālā
 55 pālāntyō bhavadbhīḥ |
 56 sarvān=stān=bhāgīnāḥ pārtthi-
 57 vēṇḍrāṇ(drān) [!]³ bhūyō bhū-
 58 yō yāchatō Rāmabha-
 59 dra[h]* [!]⁴ Sva-dattam(ttāṁ) para-dattam(ttāṁ) [vā]
 60 yō harēti(ta) vasu[ḍ]dha-
 61 rā[ḍ]* [!]⁵ shaṣṭir=varaha⁶-sahasā-
 62 pām [!]⁷ viśṭhāyāṁ jāya-
 63 tā krimiḥ [!]*

¹ This name can also be read as *Buṁmanam*.

² This name can also be read as *Paṭṭagamaṁ*.

³ The *drā* is unnecessary.

⁴ Read *śaṣṭir* *varaha*.

No. 36—NOTE ON MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.4.1961)

While editing the Mallesvaram inscription above, pp. 253 ff., Dr. G. S. Gai has pointed out the weakness of the grounds on which some scholars have identified a ruling chief named Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, known from a number of inscriptions found in various parts of the Western Chālukya empire, with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII. Dr. Gai has considered the problem from the view-point of Western Chālukya history and has only in passing referred to the doubtful reconstruction of the career of the said Eastern Chālukya king. Looking at the problem from the stand-point of the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, I find that most of what has been so far said about king Vijayāditya VII is based partly on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Eastern Chālukya records and partly on an eagerness to get light on Eastern Chālukya history from the confused story of the struggle between the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas.

Reference has been made to 'the deep-seated antagonism' between Vijayāditya VII and his step-brother Rājārāja I¹ and it has been suggested that Rājārāja I rarely enjoyed peace during his long reign of 41 years due 'mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya' or partly to 'the sinister designs of his half-brother (Vijayāditya VII)' and partly to 'the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers (i.e. the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas)'.² But, as will be seen below, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Vijayāditya VII ousted his step-brother's authority from the latter's kingdom or a part of it during the first half of the latter's long reign but that he was loyal to Rājārāja I for many years after that short rule as a usurper.

Certain Chōla inscriptions, said to be of the 10th regnal year of Rājendra-chōla I (1016-44 A.D.), state that the Chōla general compelled the king of Vēṅgi to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasīnha and defeated the Kālīngas, Teluṅgas and Oḍḍas.³ On this basis, it has been suggested that Vijayāditya VII succeeded in seizing the Vēṅgi kingdom after his father's death probably with the help of Western Chālukya Jayasīnha II and of the rulers of Kālīṅga and Orissa, that the Chōla army sent by Rājendra-chōla I to help his nephew Rājārāja I defeated Jayasīnha II at Musāḍgi in 1020-21 A.D. while Vijayāditya VII, disastrously defeated, fled to the court of his ally the king of Kālīṅga, and that the combined forces of his allies, viz. the Kālīngas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas, were defeated by the Chōla general in the 10th regnal year of the Chōla monarch counted from 1012 A.D. when he participated in his father's administration as the heir-apparent, i.e., in 1021 A.D.⁴ But, whatever may be the ingenuity of this reconstruction which appears to us to be dubious,⁵ there is some evidence to show that this could not have been the case.

¹ N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 226 and 239. For similar views, see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 175 ff.

³ Reference is made in this connection to *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752.

⁴ Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.

⁵ It is indeed difficult to prove that the undated Kalidindi grant (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.) of Rājārāja I and the undated Madakasira inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. B-751) mentioning no king but stating that 'the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla [king] had ordered [his general] Sōllyavarman to conquer that country' have any bearing on the period in question.

Some scholars believe that the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya died in 1018 A.D., though the coronation of his son and successor Rājārāja I took place on the 16th August 1023 A.D.,¹ and that 'the hostility of his (i.e. Rājārāja's) step-brother Vijayāditya probably delayed his coronation for four years'.² But others put the death of Vimalāditya and the accession of Rājārāja I in 1019 A.D. and speak of a delay of three years in the latter's coronation.³ The possibility of 'a war of succession' between the two brothers or 'the forcible occupation of the kingdom' by Vijayāditya VII has also been suggested.⁴ But there is no support for this in the inscriptions of the family according to which, Rājārāja I succeeded his father and ruled for 41 years. It is expected that the genealogical section of the records of the family, which clearly notices a 27 years' period of anarchy between 973 and 999 A.D., would have given us a hint if the coronation of Rājārāja I was really delayed for three or four years due to anarchy or to the occupation of the throne by Vijayāditya VII. The reason for the delay in Rājārāja's coronation is unknown and various causes can be imagined. But there is hardly any justification for bringing in Vijayāditya's hostility to account for it since the evidence at our disposal seems to tell a different tale.

As will be seen below, the 27th June 1031 A.D. fell after 'twelve years' rule' of Rājārāja I and this would suggest that he ascended the throne sometime before the 26th June 1020 A.D. Since the reference seems to be to the twelfth year of his reign, he probably ascended the throne after the 26th June 1019 A.D. The following dates in both the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era are known for the reign of the king: (1) year 12—Śaka 952 (1030-31 A.D.); (2) year 37—Śaka 980 (1058-59 A.D.); and year 41—Śaka 983 (1061-62 A.D.).⁵ These three dates would roughly equate his first regnal year respectively with Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.), Śaka 944 (1022-23 A.D.) and Śaka 945 (1021-22 A.D.). It thus appears that the first date counts the reign period from his accession while the second and third calculate it from his coronation. It has, however, to be noticed that the first date counting his reign from about 1019 A.D. is found in a record of Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya would have been responsible for delaying Rājārāja's coronation, not to speak of his forcible occupation of the throne for a few years, it is impossible to believe that Rājārāja's reign would have been counted from c. 1019 A.D. in this record of Vijayāditya himself.

As we shall also see below, Śaktivarman II, son of Vijayāditya VII, succeeded Rājārāja I in Śaka 983, the date of his coronation being given as Thursday, month of Tūlā, endi 2, Anurādha-nakshatra and Kumbha-jagna (18th October 1061 A.D.).⁶ Rājārāja I seems to have died during his 41st regnal year sometime before that date.

The Pamulavaka plates issued in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of the 7 years' rule of Mummañjībhatta (Vimalāditya):

Tasya Mummañjībhattasya saptāḥ kṛtā-matir-mahān |

Rājārāj-āhvanṣo rājā dvādaś-ābdān-dharmān-apāt ||

Tam Rājārāja-vijayatīn nirbhāṣya bhuvah prasaṅga Vijayādityaḥ |

Vimalāditya-tanujasya dvāvimāśur-grahid=ṣo rājyam ||

¹ The date is quoted in Rājārāja's records as Śaka 944, month of Śaka, bedi 2, Thursday, Uttara-Bhādrapada-nakshatra. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 68, verse 16; *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38.

² D. C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 96.

³ Venkatarammayya, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 234 and 239.

⁵ Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100.

⁶ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 40, 44.

Śrīmān Śāśi sam-aughā drig-īśa-nāthi-mūḥ Karkaṭā karkaśāśān

buddh-ātmā buddha-paṇḍitam Aditivanta-dīnā sūrya-bhō śūrya-śālī |

Kanyā-lagna-tūlhanā Śālikula-tilakā Rājānārtāyā-sāvar-

Vēngi-sūmāhāya-paṭṭanā sma vāhāt Vijayāditya-bhūpaḥ prādīpī ||¹

According to this, Vijayāditya ousted Rājārāja I after the latter's rule of 12 years, occupied the kingdom of Vēngi by force, was anointed on Sunday, month of Karkaṭaka, śukla 5, Śaka 952 (or 953), Kanyā-lagna, Sūrya-nakṣatra and ruled at least up to his second regnal year when the charter was issued. The date of his coronation has been equated by some with the 9th July 1030 A.D.² and by others with the 27th June 1031 A.D.³ The first date is certainly wrong. It has to be pointed out that, although the word *drig* normally means 'two', the date is irregular for Śaka 952. But if *drig* is taken to mean *īśa-drig* or 'three', the date corresponds to the 27th June 1031 A.D.

The language of the stanzas quoted above would of course suggest that Vijayāditya VII became the master of the entire Vēngi kingdom. But often such claims are exaggerated. Thus when the Chōla and Western Chālukya inscriptions speak of the conquest of Vēngi or any other country, not the entire country is meant in many cases. Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the later records of both Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II do not refer to any break in the 11 years' reign period of Rājārāja I; that is to say, they do not state that Rājārāja I ruled for 12 years, then Vijayāditya VII reigned for so many years and then again Rājārāja I ruled for so many years. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya succeeded in occupying only a part of his step-brother's kingdom.⁴ Another fact that has to be considered is that, about this time, the rulers of Vēngi were subordinate allies of the Chōlas while the Vēngi country was a bone of contention between the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya occupied parts of the Vēngi kingdom with the help of the Western Chālukyas who regarded him as a subordinate ally and installed him as a rival king of Vēngi in the areas occupied by them.

As indicated above, the said period of Vijayāditya's rule, ostensibly resulting in a break in Rājārāja's reign, is not recognised in any later record of the family, even in those of Vijayāditya VII himself and of his son Śaktivarman II. This is a significant fact which, coupled with other evidences to be discussed below, shows that Vijayāditya soon atoned for his rebellion probably by handing over the territory to Rājārāja I, so that this lapse of his youth was later forgiven and totally forgotten. There are well-known cases of this kind, e.g. the rebellion of Stamha against his brother Gōvinda III and of Jayasinha against his brother Vikramāditya VI.⁵

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 287 (text lines 90-96); Vol. V, p. 38. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic texts, which are not always correct in the published transcripts, after removing the scribal errors, etc., of the original. The second foot of the second stanza here is metrically defective.

² Ibid., Vol. V, p. 38.

³ Venkataramaiah, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁴ It is sometimes supposed that Vijayāditya VII occupied only the Viragapattani District (Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 103).

⁵ Alcock, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 61-62; *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 171.

If Vijayāditya was eager to obtain the throne of Vēṅgi and was zealously fighting for it, we do not understand why he should have given the coveted object to his son when he actually got it after a bitter struggle. Of course, if he was to rule the kingdom on behalf of Kulōttuṅga I, one understands why he entrusted the burden to his son. The graphic description of his dejection at his son's death when he was prevailed upon by the officers to have reluctantly agreed to govern the kingdom for the establishment of law and order (*dharma*) scarcely suits one who was vigorously striving for the throne. Śaktiśarma's comparison with Abhimanyu may be merely to indicate that he prematurely died as a young man before the death of his father. But, even if it is taken to indicate that he died like Abhimanyu in a fight with his relatives, these latter need not be necessarily identified with the partisans of Kulōttuṅga I or the Chōlas. The enemies may have as well been the Western Chālukyas or the Eastern Gāḍgas or somebody else. The Eastern Chālukyas were an offshoot of the Early Western Chālukya dynasty while the Imperial Eastern Gāḍgas and the Eastern Chālukyas were both matrimonially related to the Chōlas.

The copper-plate grants of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I, issued during Kulōttuṅga's reign, state that their brother Rājārāja-Mummaḍichōḷa took up the burden of the kingdom of Vēṅgi when their father addressed him in the following words after appointing the other brothers as rulers of different districts (*vishayas*):

Mayā Vēṅgi-mahī-vijayam Chōḷa-rājya-abhishikṣā |
mat-pitravyāḥ purā nyastam Vijayāditya-bhūbhujā ||
Sa cha pañchakṣaḥ=śiṣa=śiḍān pañchānana-parākramaḥ |
mahim cakṣan-mahimāṁśo divam diva-śpandan gataḥ ||¹

The reason why Kulōttuṅga I did not like to be the ruler of Vēṅgi and bestowed the Vēṅgi kingdom on his uncle is given here clearly as his ambition to get the Chōḷa throne. Apparently he was afraid of losing the Chōḷa crown, a much more coveted prize than the Vēṅgi throne, in case he would be away from his supporters at the Chōḷa court, ruling over his paternal kingdom.² If the relations between Rājārāja I and Vijayāditya VII were bitter, such respectful reference to the latter would not have been put here in the mouth of the former's son. Vijayāditya VII is not only called *pañchānana-parākrama*, 'a very lion (or Śiva) in valour' but also *diva-śpanda*, 'like a god'.

An inscription assigned to Rājārāja Mummaḍichōḷa, who was a son of Kulōttuṅga I and is supposed to have been anointed on the Vēṅgi throne on the 27th July 1076 A.D., i.e. shortly after the death of Vijayāditya VII, records that a scion of the family of Kannarādōva who was the lord of the earth from the Himāchala to the Seta (probably Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III), by name Mummaḍi Bhīma, was made the chief of one thousand villages in Vēṅgipura-vishaya by the said ruler of Vēṅgi.³ It is interesting to note that this Bhīma is described in the inscription as brought up by king Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya was regarded as an enemy of Kulōttuṅga I, it is doubtful if the former's protégé would have received, so soon after the former's death, favours from the latter's son. Even if there was good reason for favouring the person, there was certainly no necessity for mentioning his relation with Vijayāditya VII in the record. This fact therefore suggests that Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttuṅga I and the latter's sons were not bitter.

¹ *SIH*, Vol. I, p. 53, verses 14-15; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 430-31, text lines 65-67. Sometimes we have *Vatas* for *Mayā* and *mayaḥ diva-vijay-nishim* in place of *Chōḷa-rājya-abhishikṣā* (see above, Vol. V, p. 78, verses 12-14; Vol. VI, p. 329, verses 14-15; see also p. 344).

² It has been supposed by some that Kulōttuṅga I was in his teens at the time of his father's death and that this necessitated the installation of Vijayāditya as the successor of Rājārāja I (above, Vol. XXII, p. 271). But the fact that Kulōttuṅga I had a number of grown up sons capable of assuming viceregal responsibilities in territories including Vēṅgi in the year 1076 A.D. seems to show that he was not quite in his teens in 1061 A.D.

³ Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 122-23, *A.D. Ep.*, 1922, p. 97.

It may be pointed out that Kulōttuṅga I claims to have got the kingship of Vēṅgi on his father's death about 1060-61 A.D. though he gave (cf. *nyasta*) that to his uncle Vijayāditya VII who also acknowledges its receipt (cf. *pratyagrakṣi*) even though it was at first given (*nyasta*) by him, in his turn, to his son Śaktivarman II. It thus appears that the reigns of both Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅgi were calculated to commence in 1060-61 A.D.

There are two stanzas in the above inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga's sons, in the description of Kulōttuṅga I, which clearly state that the said king became at first the ruler of Vēṅgi (*prathamam Vēṅgi-līcaratnam-adhyāpam*) and was later anointed to the Chōḷa kingdom (*Chōḷa-vāṅgī-śāshakānāḥ*).¹ Later records of the family represent Kulōttuṅga I as the successor of his father Rājārāja I, but assigns to him a reign of 49 years (rarely 50 years)² as the lord of the Chōḷa empire (*śrī-pōṇḍi-Dravida-sah-Audhra-vishayan*)³ apparently referring to the period 1070-1120 A.D.⁴ It is not stated here that he was the king of Vēṅgi after the death of his father Rājārāja I and before his own accession to the Chōḷa throne. This has therefore to be understood as the recognition of the fact, on the part of his successors, that Kulōttuṅga I was not the *de facto* king of Vēṅgi between 1061-70 A.D. even though he claimed to have been the *de jure* lord of that country then under the rule of his proxy, his uncle Vijayāditya VII. That, however, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I was sometimes counted from 1061 A.D. is known from one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 1015 (1095-96 A.D.) and the 35th year of his reign.⁵ The mention of Kulōttuṅga I as 'Rājā, the king of Vēṅgi', in Billapa's *Vikramānkaśekhara*⁶ also shows that he was regarded as the king of Vēṅgi at the Chōḷa court. It may also be noted that, if Vijayāditya VII was a Western Chāḷukya partisan, his rival for the throne of Vēṅgi would scarcely have been mentioned as the king of that country by the Western Chāḷukya court poet.

The contemporary eulogistic poetical work *Kulōttuṅga-paravāṇi*, the hero of which is Kulōttuṅga I, says how the queen of Rājendra-chōḷa I regarded her daughter's son Kulōttuṅga I as 'worthy to be her [adopted] son and to increase the fame of the Solar race (i.e. the Chōḷa family)', how king Virarājendra made him the *Yuvarāja* and how he, when still a *Yuvarāja*, conquered Chakrakōṭṭa (i.e. the present Bastar District) and was a terror to Virutaciṅga (Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI).⁷ This seems to be quite consistent with what has been said above on the basis of epigraphic evidence misinterpreted by scholars. As regards Kulōttuṅga's exploits in the Bastar region apparently against Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI who was probably aiding the local Chihinda ruler, a subordinate ally of the Western Chāḷukyas,⁸ it is supported by an inscription⁹ of Kulōttuṅga I, dated in his fifth regnal year, which states that, at the time [when he was still] the heir-apparent (*śāhagā*), he conquered Sakkarakōṭṭam and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirāgaram (in the present Chanda District, Maharashtra). Under the circumstances, Sastri's theory that Kulōttuṅga I 'spent the best part of the period A. D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar State'¹⁰ seems to be against all available evidence. A person who did not occupy the Vēṅgi throne for fear of losing the Chōḷa crown would have scarcely liked to have spent such a long period in Bastar to the north of Vēṅgi, even further away from the Chōḷa capital.

¹ *Nil.*, Vol. I, verses 9 and 11; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 430, text lines 54-55 and 57-60; above, Vol. V, p. 77, verses 8 and 10; Vol. VI, p. 335, verse 5, and p. 339, verse 10.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 227-28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336, verse 21 and note 14.

⁴ Kulōttuṅga's accession in 1070-71 A.D. is also supported by his own inscriptions with both regnal and Śaka dates (Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 2nd ed., p. 290).

⁵ *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 56.

⁶ VI, 26.

⁷ Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁸ Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

Another significant fact is that Kulōttuṅga I sent one of his sons as his viceroy in Vēṅgi immediately after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that the installation of a son of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgi did not involve the conquest of an enemy's territory since, if Vijayāditya VII was hostile to Kulōttuṅga I, the installation of Kulōttuṅga's son on the Vēṅgi throne immediately after Vijayāditya's death could not have been possible without any struggle with the partisans of the Eastern Chālukya king. But there is no clear evidence of such a struggle. That Vijayāditya VII was not regarded as an enemy by Kulōttuṅga I seems also to be evident from the fact that no attempt is definitely known to have been made by the former to occupy Vēṅgi during the period after his occupation of the Chōḷa throne and before Vijayāditya's death. It is thus clear that, even if parts of the Vēṅgi country may have been till then under the occupation of Western Chālukya forces, the area under Vijayāditya VII passed smoothly after his death to Kulōttuṅga I.

What has been said above would suggest that there was no struggle between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttuṅga I for the throne of Vēṅgi.¹ But certain copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga state that when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left [the country of] Vēṅgi, as if he were a man leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḷas, he, Rājārāja (i.e. Chōḍagaṅga's father Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarmān, 1070-78 A.D.), the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (i.e. the region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga).² The Dirghast inscription of Śaka 997 (1075 A.D.) refers to the victory of Gaṅga Rājārāja's *Mahāprathīḍha* Vanapati over the Chōḷa king's army and other enemies including the king of Vēṅgi whom he claims to have often defeated.³ On the basis of these statements, it has been supposed that, after his accession to the Chōḷa throne, Kulōttuṅga I was bent on conquering Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya VII who is supposed to have become helpless after the death of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra (1063-70 A.D.).⁴ It is, however, not impossible that the reference is to a Chōḷa invasion of Vēṅgi about the close of Virarājendra's reign, which drove Vijayāditya from Vēṅgi and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gaṅgas about 1070 A.D.,⁵ and that he succeeded in returning to Vēṅgi after Virarājendra's death when a struggle for the Chōḷa throne was going on between Kulōttuṅga I and Virarājendra's son Adhirājendra. If Kulōttuṅga was responsible for driving him out of Vēṅgi, it is difficult to understand why this success is not noticed in the records of his family, which assign to Vijayāditya a rule of 15 years between 1061 and 1076 A.D.

During Vijayāditya's reign, a good part of the Vēṅgi country must have once been occupied by the forces of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was then a general of his father Sōmśvara I.⁶ The Karyvur inscription of the fourth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra states that he attacked and destroyed the powerful army that Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) had 'again'

¹ The theory of continuity between Kulōttuṅga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII was at first propounded by Hultzsch on inadequate evidence (*SIL*, Vol. III, p. 128) and has since been followed by later writers on the subject. Cf. above, Vol. XXII, pp. 271-72, etc.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII, p. 191. It is strange that Venkataramanayya (*op. cit.*, pp. 231 and 271, note 1) thinks that Kalinga had no separate existence in the age in question and that it was a dependency of Vēṅgi. This is believed by him to be 'clearly brought out in the Charala plates (*El.* XXV, p. 262)'. He seems to attach undue importance to claims which should be taken with a grain of salt.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 317.

⁴ Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁵ Because he was regarded as a traitor by the Chōḷas, he may have been afraid to surrender to the Chōḷa forces and therefore left the country to seek the help of the Eastern Gaṅga king who was his relative.

⁶ Note also the existence of an inscription (1057 A.D.) of the reign of Sōmśvara I in the East Godavari District and the assumption of the title 'lord of Vēṅgi' by the said king's son and viceroy Sōmśvara II (*The Struggle for Supremacy*, ed. Majumdar, p. 170). This title goes against the belief that Vijayāditya was a Western Chālukya partisan.

despatched to Veṅgai-nāḍu.¹ The Manimangalam inscription of Virarājendra's fifth regnal year also states that he 'reconquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed it on Vijayāditya whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet'.² This shows that Vikramāditya VI had occupied parts of the Vēṅgai kingdom and that Virarājendra helped Vijayāditya VII in regaining them. It appears that soon afterwards Vijayāditya VII was again defeated disastrously by the Western Chālukyas and was compelled to become a subordinate ally of the latter. This may have brought in the intervention of the Chōlas who probably defeated Vijayāditya and his allies and, as a consequence, the Eastern Chālukya king fled away and received help from the Gaṅga king of Kālīṅga. Since this possible anti-Chōla activity of Vijayāditya VII was thrust on him by circumstances, it was not difficult for the Chōla king to forgive his subordinate ally. Of course, if it happened during Virarājendra's reign, it was easier for Kulōttuṅga I to be favourably disposed towards his uncle whose help he might have later received in his struggle with the Western Chālukya forces still in occupation of parts of Vēṅgai.

The following dates in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era belong to the reign of Vijayāditya VII: (1) year 3-Śaka 986 (1064-65 A.D.); (2) year 8-Śaka 990 (1068-69 A.D.); (3) year 12-Śaka 994 (1072-73 A.D.); (4) year 13-Śaka 995 (1073-74 A.D.).³ They show that Vijayāditya's reign was calculated as beginning from Śaka 983-1001-63 A.D. The Ryali copper-plate grants were issued in his 12th regnal year, i.e. 1072-73 A.D.⁴ His 15th regnal year, in which he seems to have died, would correspond to 1075-76 A.D.

Besides the facts discussed above, these dates and a few others of his reign make it impossible to believe that *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Paramahattarako*⁵ Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgai is identical with his namesake who was a subordinate chief and is mentioned in the records of the reign of Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, especially when the said chief is supposed to have been the Western Chālukya governor of the province of Nalambavāḍi (i.e. parts of the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Tumkur Districts) and the adjoining area from A.D. 1063 to 1066.⁶ The same person could scarcely have been the king of Vēṅgai and the Western Chālukya viceroy of Nalambavāḍi at the same time.

We have indicated above a few solid facts of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings Rājārāja I and Vijayāditya VII. The claims and counter-claims of the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas in respect of Vēṅgai during the period in question should be viewed against the background of these facts.

¹ *SIU*, Vol. III, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08.

⁴ *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 35.

⁵ These titles are found in his Ryali copper-plate inscriptions while the Pannilavaka plates, issued after he had been set up as a rival of his brother Rājārāja I, call him *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*.

⁶ Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The Western Chālukya viceroy is also known from an inscription of 1074 A.D. (*A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B 237) and now also from another dated 1081 A.D. (above, pp. 255ff.)

No. 37—DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTAMUNI

[Received on 2.2.1961]

This set of three copper plates was in the possession of a cultivator of the village of **Dēvali** in the Talaja District of the former Bhavnagar State (now the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat). It was presented to the Mahārāja Sāhel of Bhavnagar in 1944 and was preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar.¹ A short note on the inscription was read by Dr. P.M. Modi at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1944, while an unsatisfactory transcript of it was later published with a sketchy introductory note and plates by Dr. S. C. Upadhyay in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp. 196 ff. The defect of Dr. Upadhyay's transcript is that, besides containing numerous minor inaccuracies, the new stanzas occurring in the inscription have not been fully and correctly read (cf. especially verses 30, 34, 36 and 40) whereas the text of the verses previously known from other inscriptions has not generally been quoted exactly as they are worded in the present record. It should be remembered in this connection that, of the three known charters of the time of the donor of the present grant, viz. *Samadhiḡatāśīshamahāsahada Mahāsīmantaśāhi* **Prabhūtaravarsha Gōvindarāja** of the second feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family of the Gujarat region, the Torkhade plates (Śaka 735)² were actually issued by his feudatory, *Samadhiḡatāśīshamahāsahada Mahāsīmanta*³ Buddhavarasa, who was the son of Rājāditya and grandson of Maṇināga of the Śalukika (Chālukya) family and ruled over the Siharakūṭa area, and have only a few stanzas in the introductory section. Similar is the case with Gōvinda's Prince of Wales Museum plates (Śaka 732) having only 15 introductory verses.⁴ The Kavi plates (Śaka 749)⁵ of Gōvinda have of course a large number of verses in common with the present record. The inscription under study has a special importance because it not only offers us some new stanzas but also throws some new light on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty in question and raises certain problems, which Dr. Upadhyay failed to realise.

Of the three plates of the set, the first and third measure each about one foot in length and nine inches in height while the second plate is about 4 inch higher than the other two. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing and their corners are rounded off. There are two ring holes (each about half inch in diameter) in the upper margin of the plates; but the rings that must have passed through them to hold the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of the rings are not available. The second plate has writing on both the sides while the other two plates are engraved only on the inner side. There are altogether 79 lines of writing in the following order: Plate I—20 lines, Plate IIa—23 lines, Plate IIb—22 lines and Plate III—14 lines. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory, some letters being rubbed off here and there.

¹ The copper-plate grants of this museum were recently transferred to the local institution called *Gāndhī Smṛiti* which I visited for copying the inscription about the close of January 1960.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

³ Note that he is called a *Mahāsīmanta* whereas his immediate liege-lord Gōvinda enjoyed the higher feudatory title *Mahāsīmantaśāhi*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

The characters of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet while the donor's signature copied in line 78 is in the Siddhamātrikā characters of North India.¹ We know that the charters of the family to which the donor belonged were written either in the Northern or in the Southern alphabet while the characters of the copy of the donor's signature are sometimes different from those employed in the records themselves.² The initial vowels *a* (lines 61, 72, 76), *i* (lines 11, 12, 62, 71), *u* (lines 6, 30, 38, 58, 76, 77), *e* (lines 38, 60) and *o* (lines 38, 60) occur and also *avagraha* (line 60), final *i* (lines 12, 14, 30, 37, 42, 71) and final *a* (lines 38, 39, 44, 50, 52, 55). While final *i* has been written in two different ways (cf. lines 12 and 14), final *a*, in the cases cited above, has been written without superscribing it to the following consonant. The letter *h* has also been written in two ways (cf. *balāsa* in line 11 and *bandhu* in line 28).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its orthography is characterised by the general use of class nasals in preference to *anuvāra* which has, however, been generally used for final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. There are many cases of the wrong use of *anuvāra* (as in *amāsaṁśva* in line 4) and, in one case, *śiṅha* has been spelt as *śiṅgha* (line 3).

The date of the record is quoted in words as the **Vālabhīya year 500** and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse** (lines 63-64). The era referred to is the Gupta-Vālabhī Sāvat, the year 500 of which corresponds to Śaka 740 expired or 741 current = 818-19 A. D.³ The solar eclipse in question may have been the one on the **31st December in the year 818 A.D.** or on the **26th June 819 A.D.**

The introductory part of the record under study contains 41 stanzas (lines 1-54), of which verses 1-28 (lines 1-36) describing the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty down to **Gōvinda III** (c. 794-814 A. D.) are the same as in the Kavi plates of Gōvindarāja himself as well as in many other epigraphs of the family.⁴ The section begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the well-known *maṅgala verse* *Sa oṣ-ṣyād-Vidhasā dhāma*, etc., while verse 2 introduces Rāshtrakūṭa **Gōvinda I**, the great-grandfather of **Dantidurga** (c. 740-57 A.D.) who established the imperial status of the family. The section concludes with the description of king Gōvinda III in verses 23-28 (lines 29-36).

Of the remaining 13 stanzas describing the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Amoghavarsha I** (c. 814-78 A. D.) and his subordinate uncles **Karka** and **Gōvinda**, verses 29-30, 31, 36 and 39 are new stanzas, the other 8 stanzas being found either in the Kavi or P. W. Museum plates or in some other records of the family.⁵ These new verses, however, do not contain any important historical information.

The following section in prose in lines 54-70 records the grant proper. The charter was issued by *Saṃadhigatāśeṣamahāśāhā Mahāśāmantādhipati* **Gōvindarāja**, while he was staying at **Pālitāpaka** (modern Pālitānā in Kathiawar), in favour of the Brāhmana **Sōma** who was the son of **Karka** and a resident of **Vālabhī** and was a member of the Chaturvēdin community of that

¹ Cf. the P. W. Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, Plate facing p. 233).

² Cf. the grant of Dhruva, son of Gōvinda's elder brother **Karka**, which is illustrated above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 74 and 75 and facing p. 76, the charter being written in Northern characters but the signature in the Southern alphabet (cf. also the Baroda plates of the same king illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, Plates between pp. 200 and 201), though the record of **Karka** illustrated in Plates between pp. 82 and 83 of the same volume are written entirely in the Southern alphabet.

³ To get the equivalent Christian year, 318-19 requires to be added to the current Kārttikādi Vālabhī year and 19-20 to the current Chaitrādi Gupta year according to some authorities (see *Nyamikanan Pūjā, Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 54).

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145-47; above, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-83; etc.

⁵ Verses 31-32, 35, 37-38 and 41 are found among the 11 stanzas of the corresponding section in the Kavi plates. For verse 33, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

place. The donee belonged to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṇdina *śākhā*. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to all the officers who were concerned with the gift land (*yathāsamabhaihyamānaka*) such as the *rāshtrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grāma-kūṭa*, *āyukta*, *niyuktaka*, *adhikārīka* and *mahattara*. The gift land consisted of a field (*kshētra*) called **Kōhala** which was situated within the boundaries of a locality named **Dēṣṭikā**.¹ The said land was bounded by the boundary of **Kōlaka-grāma** in the east, the **Śatruḍjaya** river in the south, the boundary of **Ālēsaka-grāma** in the west, and the **Jarat** river (or a dried up river bed) in the north. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the usual privileges known from many other records of the donor's family including his own Kavi plates.

The above section is followed by the donor's request to the future rulers for the protection of his grant and a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas ascribed to *Vāda-vyāsa* Vyāsa (lines 66-77). Line 78 contains the statement that the executor of the grant was **Bhaṭṭa** Kumāra or Śrīkumāra. The donor's signature on the original document is copied in the North Indian Siddhamātrikā characters in the second half of the same line. Line 79, with which the document ends, states that it was written by Jajjulla who was the son of *Kulaputra* (nobleman) Padmanābha. This writer is already known from the P. W. Museum plates.

The most interesting feature of the inscription under study is its date in the **Valabhi Sāhvat 500**. The Maitrakas of Valabhi (modern Vajā in the Bhavnagar District, Kathiawar) were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and continued to use the Gupta era of 319 A.D. (though the Valabhi year began a few months earlier than the Gupta year) even after the latter had lost their hold on the Western provinces of their empire. The latest Maitraka record is dated in the Gupta year 447 (765 A. D.).² After the fall of the Maitrakas, the use of the Gupta era was continued in the records of Kathiawar and it was often particularised as the Valabhi era,³ the earliest such document so far known being the Una plate⁴ of Valabhi-sāhvat 574. The present epigraph thus pushes back the use of the name Valabhi in association with the era in question by no less than 74 years.

It is interesting in this connection to note that no record of the early Kannadiga dynasties of the Gujarat region, so far published, expresses its date in the Valabhi era. The only answer to the question why the present charter was dated in that particular era seems to be that it recorded a grant of land in Kathiawar where the use of the said era was popular during the period in question. This is also suggested by the fact that Govinda made the grant from Pāṭitāpaka, i.e. modern Palitana to the south-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. Thus the field called Kōhala, situated within the boundaries of Dēṣṭikā, would appear to have been situated in Kathiawar. Indeed, this Dēṣṭikā is no other than the village of Devali in the present Bhavnagar District, where this inscription under study was found.

The territories, ruled by the feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the present charter belonged, is generally referred to as Lāṭa. This is because Indrarāja is described in the inscriptions of the family as having obtained the Lāṭeśvara or Lāṭiya *maṇḍala* from his brother, the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Govinda III, and also because Indrarāja's son Karkarāja is called *Lāṭeśvara* or 'lord of Lāṭa' in one of his charters.⁵ As we shall see below, Karka's capital was at Khōtaka (modern Kaira), though Fleet believed that Navasārikā (modern Nausārf in the Broach

¹ It is difficult to say whether the word *śtālā* in the expression *Dēṣṭikā-śtālā-pratibandha* means a small territorial unit like a Pargana. It is often used in this sense in the medieval inscriptions of South India.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1375.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1375-84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1379.

⁵ *CL. Reue. Gen.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 300-10; of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, text lines 31 and 41.

District) was the capital of this Lāṭa country which was originally bounded by the river Kim in the north, the Damabgaṅgā in the south and the Western Ghāṭa in the east, the northern boundary of the land, however, being the Maḥi during the age of these Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ B. Bhattacharya suggests that most of the charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa bones in question record gifts of land in the former Baroda State and that all the villages granted by Suvarṇavarsha Karkarāja, elder brother of the donor of our charter, lay in that State.² It will be seen that these Rāshtrakūṭas are thus supposed to have ruled over Central and Southern Gujarat. The present inscription, however, proves that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja was ruling over a territory including the south-eastern areas of Kathiawar. This is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of Kathiawar in general and of the second feudatory family of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Gujarat region in particular.

We know that Gōvindarāja mentions himself as the younger brother of Karkarāja who issued his Baroda,³ Nansari,⁴ Ananta,⁵ Surat⁶ and Bāhamnapalli⁷ charters respectively in the Śaka years 734, 738, 739, 743 and 746, while the grants of Gōvinda himself were issued in Śaka 732, Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 and Śaka 749 and a grant of one of his feudatories bears a date in Śaka 735. This fact shows that **the two brothers were ruling at the same time**, Karka at least from Śaka 734 to 746 and Gōvinda at least from Śaka 732 to 749. Earlier writers like Bühler and Hultzsch, who wrote when only Karka's record of Śaka 734 and Gōvinda's charter of Śaka 749 were known, besides a few of Karka's descendants, referred to the absence of Gōvinda's name in the records of the descendants of his elder brother Karka and suggested that this was because the younger brother was the usurper of the elder brother's territories.⁸ Since Gōvinda's record of Śaka 749 does not mention the name of the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha I, it was also believed that he rebelled against the overlord whom his elder brother Karka is known to have seated on the throne. Fleet writing after the discovery of the Torkhede plates of Śaka 735 belonging to Gōvindarāja's rule, which mention the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, suggested that Gōvindarāja may have first rebelled against his elder brother Karka and opposed the accession of Amoghavarsha I in the earlier part of his career, that he rebelled against the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor again about the end of his rule and that, as a result of the second rebellion on his part against Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa authority, sometime after the issue of his Kavi plates in Śaka 749, the administration of Lāṭa was taken out of his hands and was made over to his nephew Dhārāvārsha-Nirupama Dhruvarāja, son of Karkarāja.⁹ Without any knowledge of Karka's later records, these scholars apparently believed that Gōvinda ruled over Lāṭa after his elder brother's death.

After the discovery of Karka's Nansari (Śaka 738) and Surat (Śaka 743) plates bearing dates later than that of Gōvinda's Torkhede plates (Śaka 735), A. S. Altekar drew our attention to the respectful mention of Karka in the records of Gōvinda and concluded that the latter did not really revolt against Karka but was only 'a princely regent appointed by his brother'. Thus in Altekar's opinion, expressed when Gōvinda's P. W. Museum plates of Śaka 732 and the present grant of Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 were not known, Gōvinda was 'Karka's deputy governing

¹ *Bomb. Guz.*, loc. cit.

² *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 79-80.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

⁴ *JHHAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 121 ff.

⁵ *Gudre, Ins. Ias. Bar. St.*, pp. 23 ff.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 193 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 77 ff.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180; Vol. XIV, p. 197.

⁹ *Bomb. Guz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 406-07.

the Gajarat kingdom on behalf of his brother while he (i.e. Karka) was absent at Malkhed during Amoghavarsha's minority.² About the same time, B. Bhattacharya also offered such a view as probable though he did not exclude other possibilities such as Govinda rebelling against his brother and being subdued by Karka with imperial Rashtrakuta help.³ While editing the P.W. Museum plates issued by Govinda in Saka 732, M. G. Dikshit suggested that "both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of land without each other's consent".⁴ But the evidence now at our disposal seems to suggest that these views are untenable.

In the first place, it has to be noticed that the records issued by Karkaraja and Govindaraja during the rule of their overlord Govinda III introduced their father Indraraja as the brother of the overlord while their grants issued during the reign of Amoghavarsha I introduce Indraraja as the uncle of the said Rashtrakuta emperor. The representation of Indra as the brother of Govinda III in the Kavi plates issued in Saka 749 during the reign of Amoghavarsha I, however, follows the draft of the earlier records of Karka and Govinda apparently due to a clerical error. Altekar therefore seems to be right when he explains the non-mention of Amoghavarsha I in the Kavi plates as the result of a mistake.⁵

Secondly, we now know that the dates of the eight records of the time of the two brothers, Karka and Govinda, if they ruled over the same territory, do not suggest only two periods of rule for the two brothers, viz. the first for Karka and the second for Govinda. It will be seen that the brothers were ruling in the following years: Govinda in Saka 732; Karka in Saka 734; Govinda in Saka 735; Karka in Saka 738 and 739; Govinda in Valabhi 500-Saka 740; Karka in Saka 743 and 746; Govinda in Saka 749. If therefore Govinda rebelled against Karka and occupied the latter's territories, he must have done that not merely once but for many times. This does not look like a possibility at all especially in view of the respectful mention of Karka in all of Govinda's records. The other suggestion that Govinda ruled Lata during Karka's absence at Malkhed is equally wrong since we now know that Govinda was ruling in Saka 732, i.e. before the death of Govinda III. The theory does not also explain how Govinda was ruling even before the earliest known date and after the latest known date of his elder brother.

Thirdly, both Karka and Govinda enjoyed the same official designation, viz. *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde Mahāśāmantādhipati*, and it is doubtful whether the regent would have enjoyed the same official status as the ruler he represented without indicating the difference in their official positions in any way.⁶ Fourthly, if Karka was the real ruler of the land and Govinda merely his regent, the subordinate Śalutika chief, *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde Mahāśāmantā* Buddhavarsha of Siharakhi-12, should probably have mentioned Karka as his master and not Govinda as he does in the Torkheda plates. As regards Dikshit's suggestion, it is difficult to understand how two rulers could have exercised equal authority at the same time over the same land.

That Govindaraja was neither his brother's regent nor was he sharing the throne with his brother seems also to be proved by another piece of evidence. The Baroda (Saka 734), Nanari (Saka 735), Anasui (Saka 739), Surat (Saka 743) and Brāhmanapalli (Saka 746) records of Karka are known to have been written respectively by the following officers of the king: (1) Nēmalītya

² Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

³ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 251.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXII, p. 68.

⁶ Aparimitavarsha Dantivarma, who was a younger son of Karka and issued a grant in Saka 739 with the clear approval of the ruling chief, his elder brother Dhruva, enjoyed the title *Mahāśāmantādhipati*, but is called *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde* and not *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde* (above, Vol. VI, pp. 253 ff.).

son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Kulaputra Durgabhata*; (2) *Sāndhivigrahika Nēmaditya*; (3) *Nēmaditya*, son of *Kulaputras Durgabhata*; (4) *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Nārāyaṇa*, son of *Kulaputra Durgabhata*; and (5) *Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇa*. It will be seen that all these charters were written by two officers belonging to the same family. It is also interesting to note that the same *Nārāyaṇa* (wrongly given as *Kārāyaṇa*), son of *Durgabhata*, was also the writer of the Baroda plates¹ of *Karka's* son *Dhruva*, dated Śaka 757. If therefore *Gōvinda* really ruled over *Karka's* territory as a regent during the latter's stay elsewhere or if the two brothers ruled conjointly over the same territory, the same officers are expected to have served them. But it is quite significant that none of the four records of *Gōvinda's* time was written by the persons responsible for writing *Karka's* charters. The *Torkheda* plates (Śaka 733), issued by his subordinate *Buddhavarasa*, was written by *Kriṣṇa*, son of *Nanna*, while the P.W. Museum (Śaka 732), *Devali* (*Valabhi* 500=Śaka 740) and *Kavi* (Śaka 749) plates, issued by *Gōvinda* himself, were written respectively by (1) *Jajjulla*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Padmanābha*, (2) the same *Jajjulla* called the son of *Kulaputra Padmanābha*, and (3) *Yōgēśvara*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Kulaputra Avalōkita*. The name apparently of the said *Avalōkita* occurs in a grant (Śaka 806) of *Dhruva*, great-grandson of *Karka*, as that of the father of its writer *Valabhi-vastava Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati-ādhipati Dēnda*.²

The above discussion would suggest that, like the three *Lāta Chālukya* chiefs *Dharmarāja Jayasīdha* and his sons *Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya* and *Vinayāditya Maṅgalasena* ruling over different areas of Gujarat at the same time at an earlier date,³ the *Rāshtrakūṭa* chiefs *Karka* and his younger brother *Gōvinda* also must have been ruling over different parts of the Gujarat region contemporaneously. The internal evidence of the *Kavi* plates points to *Gōvinda's* hold over the *Broach-Kavi* region of the *Broach District*⁴ while *Stharakhi* mentioned in the *Torkheda* plates as the *fin* of his subordinate *Buddhavarasa* has been supposed to be a place near *Baroda*.⁵ The place names mentioned in the P. W. Museum plates have been located near *Vadaj* in the former *Baroda State*.⁶ Thus the area ruled by *Gōvinda* lay very close to the land under his elder brother *Karka* and was apparently situated to the west of the territory under the latter. The present inscription shows that *Gōvinda* extended *Rāshtrakūṭa* rule as far as the *Palitana-Bhavnagar* region of South-Eastern *Kathiawar*. It may be conjectured that the territory under *Gōvinda's* rule passed on his death to the descendants of his brother *Karka*. We have already referred to the fact that *Dēnda*, son of *Gōvinda's Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati Avalōkita*, was the *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipati-ādhipati* under *Karka's* great-grandson *Dhruva*.

Attention may be drawn to another point in this connection. *Karka* issued his charter from certain places including *Khēṭaka* (modern *Kaira*, headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat), which is stated to have been his *rājadhāni* or capital in the *Anastu* plates.⁷ As indicated above, *Gōvinda's* *Kavi* plates were issued from *Broach* and the *Devali* plates from *Palitana*, though we do not know where his headquarters lay. Another point of interest is that, while *Gōvinda* issued his *Kavi* plates in Śaka 749 from *Bharukachchha*, *Karka's* *Anastu* plates of Śaka 739 record

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 200.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 76, text lines 70-71.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19.

⁴ At the time of making the grant *Gōvinda* was stationed at *Bharukachchha* (*Broach*) and granted land in favour of a temple at *Kōṭipura* in *Kāpikā* (modern *Kavi* to the south of the mouth of the *Mahī*). The land granted by the charter lay to the south of *Kavi*.

⁵ See, however, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 216.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

⁷ *Gadre*, op. cit., p. 32, text line 43. *Khēṭaka* = *Kaira* was also the headquarters of the first feudatory *Rāshtrakūṭa* dynasty of the Gujarat region (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 214).

the gift of a village in the Bharukachchha *visāya*, i.e. the district of which Broach was the headquarters. If the two brothers ruled over separate areas as suggested by us, this requires an explanation. It may be that, in Śaka 749, Karka was no more and that Gōvinda was also ruling over the territory previously held by his brother. It may also be alternatively conjectured that the Broach area formed a part of Karka's territory in Śaka 739 but of Gōvinda's ten years later owing to some adjustment of the two brothers' jurisdictions. A third possibility is that Gōvinda visited Broach in his brother's territory on pilgrimage and made the grant on that occasion. The fourth possibility would be that one part of Broach lay in Karka's territory and the other part in Gōvinda's as in the case of Jerusalem today, parts of which fall in Jordan and parts in Israel.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscriptions, the location of Lāṭa, Valabhi, Pālitrāṇaka and Deūlikā has already been discussed. Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan is mentioned in verse 33 which states that Indrarāja of Lāṭa saved the frightened circle of the feudatory rulers of the Deccan when they were being deprived of their wealth by the Vallabhēśvara (Rāshtrakūṭa emperor) apparently by pleading on their behalf. The gift land is described as bounded by the villages called Kōlakagrāma and Ālōsakagrāma as well as of two rivers named Śatruṇjaya and Jarnat, though it is probable that *jarnat-nadi* really means 'a dried up river'. All these were near Devali, the findspot of the inscription under study, the Śatruṇjaya-nadi being no doubt the modern Shatrūṇjī river. But I have not been able to trace the other names on the maps available to me.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 22, 42-43, 45, 47 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 35, 40 *Paśantatīkṛā* ; verses 4, 19, 37-38 *Upajūti* ; verse 7 *Gīti* ; verses 10, 17, 20, 28, 33-34, 36, 39 *Sārdūlavīrīṣṭa* ; verses 11-14, 24, 26, 41 *Ārgā* ; verses 16, 18 *Scandharā* ; verses 21, 31, 44, 46 *Indravajrā* ; verse 48 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* [||] Sa vō-vyūd-Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṇ=krītam(tam) | Harā=cha yasya kūt=śūdu-kalayā kam=alaṇ(la)ṇkrītam(tam) || [1*] Āśid=dvishat-timiram=udya-
- 2 ta-maṇḍal-āgrō dhvastīm nayam=abhimukhō rāṇa=śarvvarīṣu | bhūpaḥ śuchir=vvidhur=iv= lāta(śūta)-dīganta-kīrttir-Ggōvindarāja iti rāja-
- 3 [su] rāja-siṅghaḥ(sīṅghaḥ) || [2*] Dṛishṭvā chāmūm=abhimūm(mu)khī[th*] subhaṭ=āṭṭahāsān-(sā)m=unnāmitam sapadi yēna rāṇēṣu nityam(tyam) | dasṭ=ādharēṣa dadha-
- 4 tā bhrukupīm lalātō khaḍgam kulāṇ=cha hridayaṇ=cha nījaṇ=cha satvam(ttvam) || [3*] Khaḍgam(dgah) kar=āgrōn=mukhataṣ=cha sōbhāch(bhā) ma(mā)nō [manastah] sevam(ma)-m=va yasya |
- 5 mah-āhavē nāma nīamya sadya=trayaṇ ripūṇāṁ vīgalaty=akāgḍē || [4*] Taay=ātmaajō jagati vīrūta-[śu]bhra-kīrttir=ārti-ārti-hā-
- 6 ri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhārī | bhūpa=trivishṭapa-nrip-ānukritib kṛitajñah śri-Karkharāja iti gōtra-maṇir=babhūva [||] [5*] [Ta]sya prabhī-

* From impressions.

* Expressed by symbol.

7. nua-kurata-ehyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-ruchir-āliklātānaa(=āśha)-pāṭha[]* kahināpaḥ
kahitau kshapita-satru=abhūt-tanājaḥ (sad-Rāshṭra)kūṭa-Kanaka-
8. śrir-iv=Āndrarājah || [6*] Tasya=opārijita-mabasa=tanāya]=chatur-udadhi-valaya-[m]āh-
nyā[]* bhūktā bhuvah | Śatakratu=ś[drī]śah śri-Da-
9. ntidurggarājō=bbūt || [7*] [K]āñchiśa-Kērala-narādhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śri-Haraha-
Vajraṭa-vibhūda-vidhāna-dakhaṇ(kāhaṇ) | Karpāṭakam balam=achintya-
10. m=ajeyam=anyair=fhrityaḥ kiyalbhū=api yaḥ sahasā jigōya || [8*] A-bhūr-vibhaṅga(ṅga)-
m=agrihita-niśāta-śastram(śtra)m=śrāntam=aprat[]bat]-ājham=apē-
11. ta-yatnadh(tanam) | yō Vallabham sapadi daṇḍa-balōna [ita ā rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratār-
(tā)m=avāpa || [9*] Ā sūtō=vipul-ōpal-āvali-lāsa*]-
12. l-lāi-ō(r*)mami-mālā-[jalā*]d=ā prālōya-kala[ñki]t-āmala-śilā-jālāt-Tushārāchalāt | l pūrva-
āpara-tōyārāśi-pulina-prānta-prasiddh-ā-
13. vadhēr=yyēn-ēyadh jagatī sva-vikrama-balōn=alk-ātapatrīkritā || [10*] Tasmā=divam prayātō
Vallabharājō kahata-prajā-bādhaḥ || [1*] śri-Karkkarāja-
14. sūnur-mahāpatih Kṛishnarājō=bbūt || [11*] Yasya sva-bhūja-parākrama-niśāśa-śechehā-
(tā)dit-āri-dik-chākram(kram) | Kṛishnasy-ōv=ākṛishṇa-
15. cha(ritam śri-Kṛishnarājasya || [12*] Śubhatuṅga-tuṅga-turaga-pravṛiddha-rōg-ūrdhva-
rudhha-ravi-kirapaṇ(ṇam) | grishmō=pi nabhō nikhilam prāvṛitkā-
16. [lāyatā] spashṭah(abham) || [13*] Dīn-Ānātha-prasayishu yathāśhṭa-chāśhṭam samāhitam=
ajastam(amam) | tat-kshaṇam=Akālavarshō varshati sarva-ā[r*]tti-
17. nīrv(āpa)ṇam(ṇam) || [14*] Rāhappam=śma-bhūja-jāta-bal-āvalōpam-ājan vijitya niśit-
āśi-latām(tā)-prahārah || [1*] pāli-dhvaj-āvali-śubhām=achir-
18. ṇa yō hī r[ā]jādhirāja-paramāśvaratār tatāna || [15*] Krōdhāt=utkhāta-khaṇḍa-prasṛita-
r[uch]i-chayair=bbāsamānam samantād=ājā-
19. v=udeṣitta-vairi-prakata-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-sadhakāśha-dakha(ṇi)(khaṇ) | āsurya[m] tyakte=
āri-vargō bhaya-[chaki]ta-vapah kv=āpi drishṭv=at-
20. va sadyō darpp-ālmā[]t-āri-[cha]kra-kshayakatam=agama[]vasya [dō]rdāṇḍa-rūpaṇ-
(ṇam) || [16*] Pātā yas=chatur-ambu-

* The mark of punctuation should be deleted.

* There is another partially beaten-in line of writing below this and that has to be read from the opposite side. The engraver began to incise the inscription from that side, but gave it up in the first line.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

ii, a

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

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Second Plate, First Side

- 21 [rāṣi]-ra[śa]n[ā]-[ā]lakāra-bhājō bhuva[s=tra]jyās=ch=āpi kṛita-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-
pūj-ādarah | dātā mānabhid-agra-
- 22 pit-guṇaiatām yō=saṁ śrīyō vallabhō bhōktaṁ svargga-phalāni bhūti-tapasā sthānāni jagān-
āmaran[am] || [17*] Yēna svē-
- 23 t-ātapatra-prabhata-ravikara-vrāta-tāpāt=sa-līlām jagmō nāfra-dhātī-dhavalita-śrasā **Vallabh-**
ākhyah sad=ājau | [śrīmān]=**Gōvinda-**
- 24 rājō jita-jagad=ahitah[ta]-stryah[atra]ṇa-vaidhavya-dakṣha=tasy=āst=sānur=ēkaḥ kṣhaṇa-
rapa-dalit-śrīti-mattāha-kumbhaḥ || [18*] Tasy=ātmanah
- 25 śrī-Dhruvarāja-nāma[mā] mah-ānubhāvō[vaḥ] prabhata-pratāpah ||*|| prasādhit-āsēṣha-narē-
ndra-chakraḥ kramēṣa bāl-ārka-vapur=babhūva || [19*] Jātē ya-
- 26 tra [cha Rā]shtrakūṭa-tilakē sad-bhūpa-chōḍjāmaṇa gurvī tushṭir=ath=ākṣhaya jagataḥ
en=svāmīni pratyakṣam[ham] || satyāni satyam=iti pra[śā]-
- 27 sati sati kṣmām-ā samudr-āntikām=āstī-dharmma-parō guṇ-āmṛita-nidhau satya-vrat-ādhi-
shṭhitē || [20*] Hṛishṭō=av=ahatī nyō[yō]=rāhi-janāya sarva[ḥ] sa-
- 28 rvasvam-ānandita-bandhu-varggaḥ | prādād=prashṭō harati ima vōgāt=prāpau Yamasy-
āmi[pi] nūtanta-vīryah || [21*] Raksha[tā] yēna nīhō[sham] chata-
- 29 r-ambhōdhi-sahyutah[tam] || rājyāni dharmmaṇa lōkānāni kṛitā tushṭiḥ parā hṛidi || [22*]
Tasy=ātmanō jagati sat-prathit-ōru-kirtir=**Gōvindarāja** iti
- 30 gōtra-lalāma-bhūtaḥ ||*|| tyāgi parākrama-dhanaḥ prakāṣa-pratāpa-saṁtāpit-āhita-janō jana-
vallabhō=bhūt || [23*] **Prithivivalla[bha*]** iti cha prathi-
- 31 tati tasy=āparah jagati nāma | yaś=cha [cha*]tur=udadhi-āimām=ēkō vasudhām vasā chakraḥ ||
[24*] Ekō=py=anūka-rūpō yō dadṛśō bhō-
- 32 da-vādibhir=iv=ātmā | para-bala-jaladhīm=apārah taru=sva-dōrbhyām rapō ripubbih ||
[25*] Ekō nirbōtir=aham grīhita-śāstrā imō parō baha-
- 33 vah | yō n=āivamvidham=akarōch=chittam evapnō=pi kim=ut=ājau || [26*] Rājy-ā[bhish]-
ka-kalāsair=abhishichya dattām rājādhi[rā]ja-paramōśvaratām
- 34 sva-pitrā | anyair=mmahā-nripatibhir=bahubhiḥ samētya Stambh-ādibhir=bhūja balād=avale-
pyamānām[nām] || [27*] Ekō=nūka-narēndra-vṛinda-sa-
- 35 hitān vyastān samā[ma]stān=api prōtkhāt=āi-latā-prahāra-vidhurān ba[d*]dhvā mahā-
sahyugē | lakṣmīm=apy=achalāni chakāra vilasa-
- 36 [t=sa*]ch-chāmara-grāh[il]lidi sadhulād-guru-vīpra-sajjana-suhṛid-bandh-ūpabhōgyām bhuvī ||
[28*] Tasmād=babhūva āśi-suhṛa-yaśō-ritā-

- 37 na-vibhrājita(ta)-tribhuvanō nna(na)te-vairi-varṅgaḥ ||*|| śrīmān-mahā-dhama-payōbhira-
Amōghavarshō nirvāpita-ākṣhila-jagad-ghaṭa(na)-tāpa-mūṣṭa || [29*]
- 38 Pradyumna śha kimu Yādava-vaśā(vachā)-kṣṭuḥ kiṁ Kārttikēya uta śakti-nimata-śatruḥ
||*|| ki[ḥ*] vai Jayanta iha sadagata Indra-kūpāt |¹ sampaśyatān
- 39 bhavati viśma(śma)ya-hāri chātā || [30*] Asy-śbhavad-bhūmipatiḥ pri(pī)trivyaḥ śrīmān-
k[r*]amāt-san-matir-Indrarājāḥ | āstā prabhūt-ādbhuta-kī-
- 40 rtti-śūtiḥ sarvasya Lāḥ-śēvara-maṇḍalasya || [31*] Yasy-śāga-mātra-jayinaḥ priya-
sāhasasya kāmāpāla-vāha-phalam-ēva babhūva
- 41 saṁyam(nyam) | muktā cha sarva-bhuvan-śēvaram-ādi-dēvān n-āvandat-sanyam-
amarēśv-āpi yō manasvi || [32*] Yēn-āikēna cha Gūṛjjar-ā-
- 42 śvara-patir-vyōddhuta samabhyudyataḥ |² śaurya-prōddhata-kandhatō mṛiga iha kṣipraḥ
diśō grāhitāḥ || || bhūt-āsaṁbhuta-Dakṣhiṇ-
- 43 patha-mahā-sāmanta-chakrah yatō rakṣām-āpa viluṇṭyamāna-vibhavaḥ Śrīvallabhēn-
ādarāt || [33*] Yēn-āikēna mah-ā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 44 haṁsa-vyasaninā kṛtā-vihār-ōdyama-prārambh[ō] vibhō nitānta-ni[ḥ]ḍa-dhānta-pradōh[ō]
sat ||*|| durvārah samam-ēva samparipatan ba-
- 45 nti-samūhaḥ kṣapāt-tikṣṇa-prōdyata-śastra-saṁhati-karaḥ paśchatvam-āpāditāḥ || [34*]
Tasy-ātmajaḥ prathita-vikrama-vairi-varṅga-lakṣmī-
- 46 haṁsa-śharapa-santata-labdha-kṛti[ḥ] |*|| śri-Karkkarāja iti samārita-pūrit-āśaḥ śāstr-ārtiḥ-
bōdha-paripa(pā)lita-sarva-lōk[ā]ḥ || [35*] Rā-
- 47 jyā yasya na taskarasya vanti[r*]-vyādhaḥ pramūti[r*]-mṛitā durbhikṣaḥ na cha vibhra-
masya mahimā n-āiv-ōpasargg-ō[ḍ]ha[va]ḥ | nō [dōsh]-ā-
- 48 bhyudasya-tathā ripu-janē n-āiva pramōd-ōdgatir-mnō vidvat-paripanthinī prabhavati krūrā
khalānām matīḥ || [36*] Samājya-jalp[ā] patit[ā] pra-
- 49 saṁgān-matāsaṁsaṁ viśva-janūn-saṁpat || || rājyam Balāḥ pūrvam-ahō babhūva kṣitā[ḥ] v[ā]-
idān[ā]n-[t]u nripasya yasya || [37*] Iśchh-ātirēk[ā] kṛt[ā] va-
- 50 [lānāḥ] payō yathā muṣhati jātu mēghā ||*|| bhavōn-manas-tad-viratān va(ta)th-ālhūd-
yasmā dhanāni varahati śrakūnā(nām) || [38*] Rāmasy-ēva dhṛita-[vra]ta-

¹ The punctuation mark is redundant.

² The achievement alluded to here is not intelligible without further light on the point.

³ The P. W. Museum plates, written by the same person, reads the third foot differently.

- 51 sya vinaya-ethairyya-ethitir-Llakhsmaṇaḥ Pārthasya-śva Dhanaśjaya[h*] kṣaṇa-jita-
prōdvitta-vairi-vrajaḥ | Gōvindaḥ prathita[h] kṣitīśv-iva gu-
- 52 paṭi Saṁkarasapasy-ātmanā yasy-ārādhana-nirmala-sthira-matir-Ggōvindarājō-nujaḥ ||
[38*] Antastha-Śaṅkara-śiraḥ-[sthira]-chandra-rēkhō-[sau]
- 53 tat-sudhā-rasa-vibhāvita-sarva-mūrti[h] [*] rliō(lō)kasya nirvṛtikaraḥ spṛhaṇīya-janmā
jātaḥ sad-āṁṣitamayatva-guṇi(ḡ-ō)[daya]ś-cha || [40*] Tēn-ēdam-ani-
- 54 la-vidyach-chañchalam-ālōkya jīvitam-asāraḥ(ram) | kṣitī-dānaś-cha param puṇyam*
pravartitō-yam dharmas-dāyaḥ || [41*] sa cha samadhigatāś-
- 55 śhanuśābda-mahāśābda*-mahāśmantādhipati-Prabhūtavaraśa-śri-Gōvindarājah |
sarvān-śva yathā-sambadhyamānakān
- 56 rāstrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūḥ-śyukta-niyuktak-śdhikārika-mahattar-ādīn samanubō-
dhayaty-astu vaḥ saṁviditān yathā
- 57 mayā śri-Pālittānak-āvasthitēna mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha-sāhik-āmushmika-phal-ā-āpty-
arthaḥ dharmma-yaśō-bhividdhayē śri-[Valabhi-vā-ta]-
- 58 vya-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Śaṇḍilya-sagōtra-vāji*-Mādhyandina-sabrahmachāri-Brā-
hmaṇa-Sūmāya Karkka-sūnatē Dēvīlikā-
- 59 śimā-pratibaddha-kṣetrāḥ Kōhal-ābhidhānaḥ yasy-āghātanāni pūrvvataḥ Kōlaka-grāma-
śmā tathā dakṣiṇataḥ Śatruñjaya-na-
- 60 dī tathā-ā-parata Ailēnaka-grāma-śimā | uttaratō Jatan-nadī | śvaḥ chatur-āghātan-ōpala-
kṣitaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ* sa-bhū-
- 61 la-vāta-pratyāyam sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādham |* s-ōtpadyamāna-viṣṭikam sa-dhānya-hirany-
ādēyam(yam) |* a-ohāṇa-bhaṇa-prāvēśyam sarva-s-rāja-
- 62 kiyān(yā)nām-a-hasta-prakṣhēpaṇīyam(yam) ā-chandr-ārkk-ārquava-kṣiti-sarit-parvata-
samakālīnam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam tathā bhūmi-
- 63 chchhidra-nyāyēna pūrvva-datta-dēva-brahma-dāya-rakitaḥ śri-Vālabhiya-sarvavatsara-
śatēshu pañchasa mahā-parvvaṇi sū-
- 64 ryya-bhaṭṭāraka-grahaṇē mātṛ-ōlak-ātisarggōpa bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-
pañcha-mahāyājña-kriy-ō-
- 65 tsarppaṇ-ārtham pratipāditaḥ yatō-sy-ōchitayā brahmadāya-athityā bhūḥjatō bhōjayataḥ

* The P. W. Museum plates read the first foot differently.

* For the sake of the metre, read *kṣitī-dāna-paramo-puṇyaḥ* as in the other records (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 74, verso 31; p. 84, verso 38).

* This word is redundant.

* The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

* *La. Vājasaṇeyi.*

* The expression is sometimes found in this form, though *s-parikarasa* is commonly used in inscriptions.

Third Plate

- 66 kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidīśatō *ā na kṛu=āpi paripanthanā lāryyā | tath=āgāmi-nripatibhir=asmad=va-
- 67 āhya(vahēyai)=anyair=vvā sāmānya[ni] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avētya vidyā-lōlāny=anīty=ai-
kṛaryyāṇi triṣ-āgra-lagna-ja-
- 68 la-bindu-chañchalam cha jīva-lōkam=ākalayya eva-dāya-nirvṛit=āhō-ṣam=asmad-dāyō=namantavyaḥ ¹ patipālāyitavya=cha [1*] yai=ch=ā-
- 69 jñāna-timira-pāṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhij[n]dyād=āchchhidyamānān v=ānumōdatē sa pañcha-
bhīr=mmahā-pātakaīr=upapātaka=cha mah-
- 70 yuktas=vyād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsa Vyāsa || Shashṭir=vvārūha-mahasrāṇi
shashṭir=vvārūha=ātāni cha ² avaryyē tishṭhātī
- 71 bhūmidah [1*] āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakō vaśē || [42*] Vindhy=āstavish=va-
a-tōyāsu śushka-kōṣara-vāsinaḥ [1*]
- 72 kṛishṇ-ūhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāy=āpahāriṇaḥ || [43*] Agnir=spatyam prathamam suva-
rṇam bhūr=vvaiśnavi sūrya=autā-
- 73 ā=cha gārah [1*] lōka-trayaṁ tēna bhavēd=hi dattach yā kāñchamam gāh=cha mahā=cha
dadyāt || [44*] Bahubhir=vasodhā bhuktā rajabhiḥ Sa-
- 74 gar=ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [45*] Yān=cha dattāni
purā narādṛāḥ=ādānāni dharmāmṛtha-yasā-
- 75 śkarāṇi [1*] nirmūlya=ānta-pratimāni tāni kō nēma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || [46*] Sva=dattān
para=dattān vā yatnād=rakṣā
- 76 narādhipa [1*] mahim mahibhṛitān śrēṣṭha dātāch=ahhṛyō=upālānam(nam) || [47*] Iti
kamala-dal=āmba-bindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchitya
- 77 manushya-jivitañ=cha | stivimala-manōbhīnā(r=ā)tmanūnair=ona hi puruṣaiḥ para-kirtayō
vilōpyā[h || 48*] Ri [1*]
- 78 dūtaka=ch=ātra Bhāṭṭa-śrī-Kumārah³ | eva-hastō=ya[di*] śrī-Gōvindarājasya⁴ [1*]
- 79 līkhitāñ=ch=aitan-mayā kulaputra-śrī-Padmanābha-sānunā Jajjullō=āti || * ||

¹ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² The second half of this verse and one foot of the next stanza are omitted here through oversight. We may make one stanza by omitting shashṭir=vvārūha=ātāni cha.

³ The name may also be Śrīkumāra.

⁴ After this (written in the Northern characters), there is a peculiar symbol which is also often found in some other records of the family (cf. above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 76). The symbol is still used in South India in Kōlas (Rangamalli) decorations.

⁵ There is a spiral symbol between the double donjas.

not in a position, whatever be the reason, to exert full control over subordinate allies and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakēśin II, the powerful Chālukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.D., so that the Maitrakas now had no fear from the south also.

The charter was issued from **Valabhi** by king **Dhruvasēna (II) Bālāditya** who is introduced in lines 1-34, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of **Dharaśēna (III)**, son of **Kharagrha (I)** who was the younger brother of **Śilāditya (I) Dharmāditya**, son of **Dharaśēna (II)** who was the son of **Guharāśēna**, a descendant of **Bhatārka** of the Maitraka dynasty. The inscription registers the grant of 150 *pālāravattas* of land (i.e. a plot of land measuring 150 feet square) in the northern border of the village called **Machchhōtikā** in the division (*sthanā*) called **Uttinua-Ijja** in **Surāshtra** in favour of the **Brāhmana Somaśarma** who was the son of **Sāmbakumāraśarma** and belonged to the **Dākṣa** gotra and the **Vājamūhya śākhā** (lines 34-36). The donee was a resident of **Valabhi** and belonged to the **Chaturvēdin** community of that place; but his family hailed from **Ānartapura**. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas.

The gift land consisted of a single plot cultivated by **Chūrjijaka** and **Mahattara Gaura**. Its boundaries are described as follows: to the east—a field belonging to **Lagorjijaka** (or **Laghu-Jijaka**, 'the younger Jijaka') and an adjoining field belonging to the **Brāhmana Hastadēva**; to the south—a field known by the name **Kapittha-kahūtra** (probably because there were some **Kapittha** trees in it); to the west—a field apparently belonging to **Chhāsiyānaka** and another adjoining plot belonging to the **Brāhmana Karka**; and to the north—a field belonging to the said **Karka** and lying on the borders of the village of **Śaranapadraka** as also an adjoining plot of land belonging to a person named **Kikkaka** (lines 37-40).

The executor of the grant was **Rājaputra Dharaśēna** (line 50). He seems to have been the king's son who later ascended the Maitraka throne as **Dharaśēna IV**. This prince is not mentioned as the executor of any charter of **Dhruvasēna II** so far published, his other grants being known to have been executed by **Sāmanta Śilāditya**¹ and **Rājaputra Kharagrha**.² The document was written by **Dīvrapati Skandabhata**, son of **Sandhicigrahāditya** **Dīvrapati Vatrabhata** (lines 50-51). Both the persons are known from many other Maitraka records³ though **Vatrabhata**'s name has often been wrongly quoted as **Vatpabhata**,⁴ **Chandrabhatta**,⁵ **Valabhata**,⁶ **Valabhata**⁷ and **Chutrabhatta**.⁸ The date of the record is quoted in the last line (line 51) as the fifth day of the bright fortnight of **Āshāḍha** in the year 323, which is followed by the endorsement, "[This is] my own signature", no doubt referring to the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Ānartapura** is identified by some with **Dvārakā** and by others with **Ānandapura** (**Vadnagar** in the **Mehsana District**).⁹ Since, however, the name **Ānandapura** occurs in no less than five inscriptions of the Maitraka family,¹⁰ **Ānartapura** does not appear to have been an alternative spelling of that name and may

¹ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341-42.

² Ibid., Nos. 1343-47.

³ Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1342, 1344 ff.

⁴ Ibid., No. 1337.

⁵ Ibid., No. 1328.

⁶ Ibid., No. 1341.

⁷ Ibid., Nos. 1340, 1351.

⁸ Ibid., No. 1345.

⁹ Cf. N. L. Day, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.; *Harachandhuri, PHAI*, 1953, p. 599 and note.

¹⁰ Virji, op. cit., p. 293; see also the plates of **Śilāditya III** noticed above p. 282.

be regarded as a different locality. The village of Mahehhōtika in Utsinua-Ijja-ethall probably lay in the Amrahi region. It is well known that Valabhi, the capital of the Maitraka kings whence the charter was issued, is modern Valā near Bhāvnagar.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² svasti ||*| Valabhītaḥ prasāha-(p)rasa-āmitrāgām Maitrakāpām-atula-
bala-sa(m)panna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-sa(m)ukta-prahāra-sata-labha-pratāpā-pra-
- 2 tēp-ōpauata-dāna-mā-ārjja-ōpārjita-ānuraṅga-ānura-ānura-ānura-ānura-ānura-ānura-
rjya-kriyāḥ paramamāhāśvaraḥ(rāi) Ari-Bhaṭārkkād-avya-
- 3 vochehinnu-rāja-vaśā(vatā)tmā(n-mā)tā-piṭi-chara-ānura-ānura-ānura-ānura-ānura-
kalmashā śaśvāt-prabhṛti khadga-dvitya-bāhur-eva samada-pam-ga-ghaṭ-ōpōḥana-
- 4 prakāśita-satva(tiva)-mukha-sat-prabhāva-prajāt-ārīti-chūḍā-ratna-prabhā-samakta-pāda-
mukha-raami-sa(śha(mūha))tis-sakala-suriti-praṇṭa-mārgga-sa(sa)myak-paripālana-
- 5 prajā-bridaya-rajan-ānura(ttha)-rāja-labha rāpa-kānti-ethairya-gāmbhīrya-buddhi-sa-
mpad(bh) śmara-śaśvāt-ārīti(rj)-ōdāḥa-ti(tri)daśaguru-dharmān-ati-
- 6 śayānāḥ sarap-āgust-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tīpavad-ōpāt-āśha-śvakārya phala(h*)-prī-
ritan-ādlik-ārtha-pradāna-ānandī(ta-vi)dvat-suhṛit-pranayī-
- 7 bridarab-pādachār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pranāḍah [para]mamāhāśvaraḥ
ar-Guhasēnas-tasya sata-sat-pāda-mukha-mayūkhā-santāna-
- 8 vicita-lāṭha-vi-jal-augha-prakāśit-āśha-kalmashā prajayī-sata-suhṛit-ōpārjyaśmāna-sa-
mpad-rāpa-lāḥad-iv-āśvata-sa-ra(bha)jam-ān(bh)gā-
- 9 mikar-ggupa-sa(ha)ja-śakti-ākāśa-vi(ā)śha-simāpit-ākāśa-dharmādharaḥ prathama-
naraṇḍī samatibhāṭa(nā)ma-sa(nā)paṭayitā dharmādhāyānān-apā-
- 10 [ka]ritā praj-ōpaghātakāśān-ōpārjita(nā) darsayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr-āk-ādlikāśa-
sāha(sāha)ti-ārīti-paksha-lakṣmī-paribhōga-dakṣa-vikramā
- 11 vikram-ōpauat-prāpta-vi(mala-pārtthiva)ivaśh [pa]mamāhāśvaraḥ ar-Dharasēnas-
tasya sata-sat-pād-ānandībhāta-sakala-ja[pa]d-ānandī-āryadbhū(ta)-
- 12 guru-samudayaḥ ethagā-samagra-dharmādharaḥ śmara-sata-vi[pa]d-ānandī-sand[cho]-
maṇḍal-āgā-dyuti-bhāsuratānā-sa(āśha)paṭ-ānandī-guru-ma-
- 13 āśha-māhāśvaraḥ sarva-vidyā-par-ōpāt-iv(bhā)g-ādlikāśa-simā-matī-sa-
ryatā-satibhāta-lavān-ōpi mukha-ōpārjyaśmāntya-paribhā(h*)
- 14 samagra-lōk-āgādhā-gāmbhīrya-kriyā-sa suharit-ādlikāśa-savyakta-patana-kalyāṇa-
svabhāvaḥ khilādhā-Kṛti-yuga-ārjita[pa]d-ānandī-
- 15 [n-ā]dhigat-ōdāgā-kṛti-sa-dharmādhānuraṅga-ōpārjita-ōpārjita-ārīti-sakha-sampad-
upaṭ(rā)-nādhā-Dharmāditya-dvitya-nā[mā] paramamāhāśvaraḥ
- 16 ar-Śūdritya-saśvāt-sat-pād-ānandībhāta-sa(āśha)paṭ-ānandī-guru-ma-
[rā]tyādhāvatā samatibhāta(sa)paṭ-ānandī-ōpi rāja-lakṣmī-ānandī-

¹ From impressions.² Represented by symbol.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥

- 32 pi karuṇā-mṛidu-bṛdayaḥ śantavāḥ-apy-agacvitaḥ kṛtāḥ-pi prasatā śhira-aa¹
[nīśaitā dōśavātām-udaya²
- 33 samapajanta-jan-ānarōga-paripihita-bhuvana-samarthitah(ta)-prathita-Bāladitya-dvitiya-
nāmā paratmmūhōvarah āi-Dhruvajāna]-
- 34 kakuśali sarvān-ōva yathā-sambadhyamānakān samājñāpayaty-anta vas-sarviditam
yathā mayā mātā-putrāḥ-puṇy-āpyāyanāy-āna]-
- 35 ritapu[ra]-vinigata-Valahhā-vāstavya-Valahhā-chētarevidya-sāmānya-[Dō]khaḥ³-sagōtra-
Vājasanīya-sabrahmacārī-Brāhmaṇa-Sāmā-
- 36 kumārasarmma-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Sōmadarmma[ḥ] Surāshtrēsh-[Ūti]nna⁴ Ijja-ethaly-
antarggata-Machchhō[ti]kṣā⁵-grāmē uttara-sīmā Chū[r]ijiyaka-
- 37 mahattara-Gaurābhyān prakṣipta[m]⁶ sōddha-pādāvarita-dats-pramāṇam-[ā]kha-khaḥ/
āvasthita-khōtrani yasy-āghātanāni pōrvva[taḥ]
- 38 Lagujyaka⁷-satka-khōtram tad-āsannam-ōva Brāhmaṇa-Hastadōva-satka-khōtrah
dakṣināta[h] Kapittha-khōtram aparataḥ Chēbhā[Chū]āryā-
- 39 naka-khōtrah tad-āsannam-ōva Brāhmaṇa-Karika-khōtra[m]⁸ uttaraḥ Śaraṇapadraka-
grāma-sīmā Brāhmaṇa-Karika-satka-khōtram tad-āsa-
- 40 nām-ōva Kikaka-satka-khōtram-ōvam-ē[ta]k-chatur-āghātanā-viśuddham sōdranga-
sōpatikara-sa[ḥ]hū[ti]vita-praty[ā]yam sa-dhānya-hi-
- 41 rāgy-ā[dē]yam sadāśpazēdha-sōtpadyamānaviśtikān sarvva-rājakyānām-ahastā-pra-
kṣhōpaṇīya[m] [pū]rva-pratta-dōva-bra-
- 42 hmadōya-sahitam bhūmi-chēhūdra-nyāyē-ā-chaudr-ārka-ārṇava-kalāti-sarit-parvata-
samakālham putra-pautra-ānvaya-bhōgyaḥ[gyam]
- 43 ndak-āśarggōga brahmadāyō nirakṣatḥ yatō-ay-ōchitayā brahmadōya-ethityā bhu-
ñjataḥ-kriśataḥ-karāyataḥ-pradiśa-
- 44 tō vā na kalēhīd-vyāśēdhā vartitavyam-āgāmi-bhadra-uripatibhūt-asamadvaśa(d-vahā)-
jair-onyair-vvā anityān-āśvavyāḥya-
- 45 sthiraṁ mānushya[m] sāmānya[m] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagachchēdhūir-ayam-
asnad-dāyō-nūmantavyaḥ-paripālā-
- 46 yitavya-eh-ōty-uktaṁ cha | Bahubbir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis-Sagarādibhīp [!]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmīnīrtaṣya
- 47 tasya tadā phalam[ham] [!] Yān-ē[ka] dāridra(drya)-[bha]yēn-ua[rā]jair-āśēdhanān
dharma-āyatān[ti]pitān [!] arihukta-māya-pratimām tānī kō nāma sōdhuh-punare-
ādāntā [!] Shashī[ḥ]i-vaśa-
- 48 sahasrāṇi svarggō mōdati bhūmidaḥ [!] āchēhṣita(tā) ch-ānūmantā cha tāny-ōva
narakō vaa[ti] Dātakō-tra rājaputra-Dharaśān [!] lūhitaḥ sandhivigra-
hādhlkṛta-divi-
- 49 rapati-Vatrabhaṭṭi-putra-divirapati-Skandabhaṭṭe || sarh 300 20 3 Āshāḍha śu 5 sva-hastō
mama[!]⁹

¹ The damaged letters are *bridayāpi*.² The damaged word is *omaga*.³ Shastri reads *śakāḥ* and draws our attention to the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of the *Ankha pāra*.⁴ *Savāli* has but been observed here.⁵ Shastri reads *Machchhōrā*.⁶ The intended name may be *Lokā-Nyaka*.⁷ The full-stop is situated here by a design formed by a dot, three curved strokes and an underline.

No. 39—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

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17.—Meaning of 'Upagata', etc.

Different versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka contain the Prakrit words corresponding to Sanskrit *upagata*, *upagāta* and *upāta* (respectively from *upa-√gam*, *upa-√yā* and *upa-√i*) in the same sense¹ which has been variously understood. Elsewhere we have suggested that *upagata*=*upayāta*=*upāta* in the context means *sasagata*, 'intimately associated'.² In our opinion, the passages in question indicate Aśoka's intimate association with the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The lexicons, however, do not bear out this meaning quite clearly. In this connection, a study of similar words, often used in copper-plate grants to indicate the relation of the subordinates and officers of a king with the gift land or the district in which it was situated may be of interest. These words are generally understood in the sense of 'assembled',³ though really some of them appear to support the above interpretation.

From the standpoint of the recording of grants of land, copper-plate charters can be primarily divided into two classes, viz. (1) those that merely announce that some land or a village was granted by the donor, and (2) those that contain an order of the donor in respect of the grant addressed to certain people. Among the records of the first category, mention may be made of a number of charters issued by the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.⁴ Copper-plate grants written in verse (e.g. many of the charters issued by the Vijayanagara kings)⁵ and those written mostly in verse⁶ generally fall in the same class. The passage *s-ānṇayān prāha bhāpālā* occurring in the versified part of a charter⁷ from Orissa is one of the few exceptions.

The second category of copper-plate grants, in which the donor's order is addressed to certain people, is important for our enquiry as it is some of these that contain the words in which we are interested. Such records can be broadly subdivided into five classes: (1) those in which the addressees are vaguely and generally indicated; (2) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the inhabitants of the gift village or the village wherein the gift land was situated or the district wherein the gift land or village was situated; (3) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the royal officers or agents including also the subordinate rulers, *jāgirdārs*, etc., in some cases; (4) those in which both the inhabitants of the locality in question and the royal officers or agents, etc., are mentioned; and (5) those in which the donor addresses neither the inhabitants nor his officers but only the future kings.

¹ *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 228.

² *Masāi Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 12 and note 3; see vol. XII, p. 42 and note 4; Majumdar, *Ind. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 190.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 24, lines 181 ff., 260, lines 125-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190, lines 179-81, 194, lines 179 ff., 256, lines 122-26. For such records belonging to other dynasties or kings, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 15, lines 8-16, 190, lines 14-16, 312, lines 6-9; Vol. XXX, pp. 140, lines 11-16, 187, line 17-18; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 73, lines 3-6, 216, verses 17-21, 266, lines 1-13, 291, lines 17 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 77, lines 17-22.

⁵ See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 144. For such records belonging to other families, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 75; Vol. XXIX, pp. 103, 198; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133-34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 32; Vol. XXX, p. 304.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 225, text lines 15-16. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic passages after removing scribal errors, etc.

The first and last of these subdivisions are simple. The first of the two is illustrated by the charters of the Chālukyas of Badami, in which we have the passage *sarvān-eva-ājñāpayati*.¹ The other, which is rare, is likewise illustrated by the passage *sarvān-eva bhāvi-bhāmipālān-samanubōdhayati* sometimes occurring in the grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Gjuatāt region.² The other cases are complicated.

The order addressed to the inhabitants of a locality is simpler in passages like the following : (1) *śrī-Skandavarmanō vacchanēna Kudrāhāra-Kōmparē grāmēyaka kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.³ (2) *grāmē sarva-samucētān-kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.⁴ (3) *Gōḥṭhaxāḍa-nivāsīnāḥ kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.⁵ (4) *Sumikāyām prativāsināḥ samājñāpayati*.⁶ (5) *Prastaravāḍa-cāsināḥ sarva-samucētān-kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.⁷ (6) *Rōyūru-grāmē grāmēyaka-ūtham-ājñāpayati*.⁸ (7) *Phēravā-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadān samājñāpayati*.⁹ (8) *Andōrēppa-grāmē sarva-samanubōdhātān-kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.¹⁰ (9) *Pratikṭhāpura-nivāsīnāḥ sarva-samucētān-kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.¹¹ etc. But slight elaboration is noticed in such passages as follows : (1) *Brāhmaṇa-purōgān-grāmān-chharit-ādī-kulalan prasthā likhātī*.¹² (2) *Kōṭṭinika-grāmē Brāhmaṇa-sampūjya prativāsināḥ samājñāpayati*.¹³ (3) *Kēṣarāḍē Brāhmaṇa-puravarān-prativāsi-kutumbināḥ samājñāpayati*.¹⁴ (4) *uktavānī-cha rōjā tad-grāma-nivāsinō mahattama-jānapadān*.¹⁵ (5) *Kēṣalaka-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-āṭarān-kutumbināḥ śivahakān-ch-ājñāpayati*.¹⁶ (6) *sarva-samucētān-kutumbinō bhōjakānī-cha samājñāpayati*.¹⁷ (7) *Gudravāra-vishaya-nivāsinō rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān-kutumbināḥ samāhūy-ūtham-ājñāpayati*.¹⁸ (8) *vishayē Vardhamānāḥ grāmākūṭa-drōṣāgraka-nāyaka-lēcavārīka-gaṇḍaka-pramukhān-sarvān-eva yathā-prativāsināḥ samājñāpayati*.¹⁹ (9) *Mēhūra-grāma-nivāsi-yathā-pradhāna-janapadān-mahattarānī-cha samādhīkanti*.²⁰ etc.

In the first group of these passages, the inhabitants of a village (*grāmēyaka*, *kutumbin*, *prativāsin*, *janapada*, etc.; cf. *grāma*, *jānapada*, etc., in the second group) are referred to while, in the second group, they are mentioned along with their social or administrative leaders and with certain village officials in a few cases. Rarely, the villagers of a whole district are stated to have been ordered after having been summoned (*samāhūya*). The word used in some cases in respect of the villagers is *sarvasamavēta* which may mean 'assembled from all sides'. This seems to be supported by the expression *sarva-samanubōdhata* rarely used in place of *sarva-samavēta*. As will be seen below, the expression *samupasthita* is used in some cases in a similar context in respect of the villagers

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 118, note 2; p. 130, text line 34.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 253, text lines 29-30.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 9, text lines 8-9.

⁴ Ibid., p. 200, text lines 9-10; Vol. XXX, p. 27, text lines 13-14; p. 117, text line 5.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 203, text lines 24-25.

⁶ Ibid., p. 315, text lines 4-5.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 277, text lines 2-3 (on first plate, second side).

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 96, text lines 12-13.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 113, text lines 8-9.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 178, text lines 5-6.

¹¹ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 219, text lines 8-9.

¹² Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 92, text lines 5-6.

¹³ Ibid., p. 221, text lines 10-11.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 265, text lines 3-4.

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 140, text line 18.

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 3.

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 35, text lines 2-3.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 45-46, text lines 15-16.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 142, text lines 35-36.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 188, text lines 15-16.

and local officials. Sometimes *sarva-samupēta* is also found in place of *sarva-samavēta*. The reference may be to an announcement to the people summoned by the beat of drums in respect of the grant in the gift village or the village containing the gift land or at the headquarters of the district in which the gift land or village was situated.

There are some charters in which the order is addressed not to the villagers but to others such as the subordinates, officers and agents of the king often with reference to a district. Cf. (1) *Śrī-Kāpālicarmayō cāchanēna Śivaputa-vishayē cartamāna-bhaviṣhyat-bhōjak-āyuktaka-sihāy-ādāyō vaktavyāḥ*;¹ (2) *sarvān-eva evān-āyuktaka-mahattara-āraṅgika-chāṭa-bhata-dhruvasthanādihikarāṇa-dāṇḍapāṭik-ādin-angamā-cha yathā-sambādhyamānakān-samudatrayati*;² (3) *asmin-Kōṅḍola-maṇḍalē kṛīḍamanta-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputra-śatarāṇa-dāṇḍapāṭik-śparika-vishayapati-tadānyuktaka-cartamāna-bhaviṣhya-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān-yathārham pūjayati mānayati cha*;³ (4) *sarvān-eva āgāmi-cartamāna-śrīpati-sāmanta-vishayapati-bhōjika-rāṣṭragrāmukūṭa-dēvillaka-mahattar-ādihikārikādīn-samanudatrayati*;⁴ (5) *sarvān-eva samupagata-vishayapati-rāṣṭragrāmamahattar-ādihikārikādīn-samanudatrayati*;⁵ (6) *Uttamālaka-vishayē samupagatān-cartamāna-bhaviṣhya-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-śparika-vishayapati-tadānyuktaka-dāṇḍapāṭika-sihāntarikādīn-angamā-cha chāṭa-bhāt-ādīn-adhikaruṇmā-cha pūjayati*;⁶ (7) *yatō-amat-santakāḥ sarv-ādhyakṣa-niyōga-niyuktā ājñāvañchārī-kulaputr-ādihikṛitāḥ lhaṭṭē-chhālṛāṭ-cha vīruta-pūrvay-ājjay-ājjāpayitavyāḥ*;⁷ etc. In these, the expressions *cartamāna-bhaviṣhyat* and *yathā-sambādhyamānaka*, used in several cases, show that the order was meant for the king's officers, etc., who were associated with the administration of the area containing the gift village or land for the time being and also those who would be so associated in future.⁸ Sometimes the word *samupagata* has been used in relation to 'the present and future' subordinates and officers of the donor in the district containing the gift village (No. 6). It is difficult to take *samupagata* here in the sense of 'assembled' since the whole district seems to be too big a place for an assemblage while it is not easy to understand how the 'future' subordinates and officers also assembled.

In a large number of copper-plate charters, the order regarding the grant is addressed to both the local people or people in general and the royal officers, etc. This is simply indicated in the records of some dynasties while the charters of some areas have it in a somewhat elaborate form. But it is the most elaborate in the records of some of the early medieval ruling families of Northern India, especially those of its eastern regions. The simple and semi-elaborate forms of indication are illustrated in the following quotations.

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 233, text lines 1-3.

² Ibid., p. 300, text lines 11-12; p. 303, text lines 16-18.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 268, text lines 31-34; cf. p. 272, text lines 23-25.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text lines 15-17.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 201, text lines 12-13.

⁶ Ibid., p. 334, text lines 3-6. Cf. *Kāṇḍīyāpura-vishayē samupagatān-sarvān-eva nityajasthān-rājā-rājanaka*, etc. (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text line 11; cf. p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13).

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 100, text lines 20-22.

⁸ For *sambādhyamānaka*, see *Lalitpurāṇa-sambādhyamānaka-Tamra-grāma* (Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 312, text line 8). In the charters of the Bhāma-Karna of Orissa, a distinction is generally made between the subordinates and officers of the district or province and those of a village or a group of villages; e.g. *śatamāna-Tāṇḍyān cartamāna-ādhyaikāya sambādhyamānaka-rājaputra-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-śparika-vishayapati-tadānyuktaka-dāṇḍapāṭika-sihāntarikādīn-angamā-nipī rājaputradīn-cha sa-rāṭhika-jāṭpān Tamra-vishaya-pāṭhān-āṭhāṭ mahāmāṭhā-ra-śrīkūṭādhyaikā-pustakapāṭa-kūṭāṭhā-ādya-adhikaruṇa pāṭhān-āṭhāṭ samāyāpogati cha* (see Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 88-89, text lines 26-30; cf. p. 217, text lines 23-26; p. 219, lines 24-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 213-16, text lines 213-16). Here the local officers of the western subdivision of the Tamra district have been mentioned separately from the subordinates and officers associated with the province of South Tōṣālī in which Tamra-vishaya was situated.

For simple indication, cf. (1) *Plāki-vishaya-vishaya-nivācinā-adhikāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kupumbinā-cha samājñāpayati*;¹ (2) *Kaṭiṅganagarāt samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān-samāññāpayati*;² (3) *sarvān-eva sarvā-āyuktāka-viniyuktāka-chāṭa-bhāṭa-kupumbi-mahattara-drāṅgikān-bōdhayati*;³ (4) *Ramulava-vishaya-Paichima-kaṇḍā yathā nivāsi-va-karaṇa-sēmanṭa-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān-yathārham mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati cha*;⁴ etc.

For semi-elaborate indication, see (1) *Nātunādī-vishaya-nivācinā rūkṣakrātā-pramukhān-kupumbinā-samāññāpayati* *mantri-purōhita-sēnāpati-yutarāj-ādy-ashṭādaśa-tirth-ādhyakṣham-ittham-āññāpayati*;⁵ (2) *Maniśūra-grām-upagatān-Brāhmaṇān-angāmā-cha mānynā-adhikṛitān-kupumbi-kūyastha-dūta-caudya-mahattarān-mēda-chaṇḍāla-paryantān-sarvān-sambōdhayati samājñāpayati cha*;⁶ (3) *grāmīyakān-rājapuruṣa-tāṭara-daṇḍanāyaka-rūkṣtrika-dūta-bhāṭa-naṭa-chāṭaka-parichāraka-niyukt-ādhyakṣha-prasūti-samāharti nīyakāmā-cha-āññāpayati*;⁷ (4) *°bhūman yathāyatham samupasthita-vishayakaraṇa-eyavahārika-pramukha-janapadān-rāja-rājāi-rāṣak-ādihkṛitān-angynāpī rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājavallobha-prabhritān-yathā-kālā-bhāvinā-pi sarvān-mānanā-pūrvakam samādīśati*;⁸ (5) *Jilōṇḍā-vishaya bhaviṣhyad-yathākālā-bhāvinā rājanyakān-rājaputrān-Brāhmaṇa-purōgān-sāmanta-nivāsi-janapadān-adhikāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān-angynā-cha chāṭa-bhāṭa-callo-bha-jātiyān-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinā sarvān-yathārham mānayati bōdhayati kuśalayaty-ādīśati ch-angyati*;⁹ (6) *Vatapadrakā Brāhmaṇān-sampūjya sa-pramukhān-pratīcāsinā yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinā-samāharti-samādīśati-pramukhān-adhikāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān-angynā-cha-āmā-pād-ōpajīvinā-sarvā-rājapuruṣhān-samājñāpayati*;¹⁰ (7) *Māṇḍiddā-vishaya rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrān-vishayapati-daṇḍapāṭikān-yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinā eyavahāriṇā Brāhmaṇān-karaṇa-purōgān-nivāsi-janapadān-cha yathārham mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati cha sarvataḥ śivam-samākam-angyati*;¹¹ etc.

In these instances, the word *upagata* has been used once in relation to the inhabitants and local officials of the gift village (No. 2 of Group II). In one case (No. 4 of Group II), the local people and officials are stated to have been *samupasthita* at the gift land while the subordinates, etc., are separated from the said class by the epithet *yathā-kālā-bhāvin*. The same distinction is also made in another case (No. 5 of Group II) by using the expressions *bhaviṣhyad-yathā-kālā-bhāvin* and *sāmanta-nivāsin*. Similar use of the expressions *pratīcāsin* and *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* are noticed in one case (No. 6 of Group II) and *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* and *nivāsin* in another (No. 7 of Group II). This distinction is made clear in the Gūhaḍayāla records in which, in the course of an elaborate indication, we have *grāma-nivācinā vilāṣa-janapadān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājāi*, etc. Here the relation of the subordinates and officers of the king with the gift village is indicated by the word *upagata*.¹² Some charters indicate the same distinction by enumerating the two classes as *sarvān-ātmīyā-mantri-purōhita*, etc., and *tan-nivāsi-Brāhmaṇ-ōttarā*, etc.¹³

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 135, text lines 12-13.

² Ibid., p. 166, text lines 44-47; p. 308, text lines 40-41.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 4, text line 1.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 122-93, text lines 15-16.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 42, text lines 31-34.

⁶ Ibid., p. 72, text lines 7-9.

⁷ Ibid., p. 78, text lines 22-24.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 207, text lines 20-32.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 188, text lines 27-29. Cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 79, text lines 24-27; also Vol. XXVII, p. 330, text lines 25-27 where we have *yathā-kāl-ādhyāsin* for *yathā-kālā-bhāvin*.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 296, text lines 6-9; cf. p. 323, text lines 6-8.

¹¹ Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 339, text lines 11-14.

¹² Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 73, text lines 12-14.

¹³ Ibid., p. 202, text lines 28-30. A stanza ascribed to Vyāsa says *śāntanam tanā ānuparī cha śāntam grāma-upagatān | Brāhmaṇān-cha tāṭā chāḍayān-mānynā-adhikṛitān likhāt |*

The word found in the Gāhaḍavāla records as *upagata* is often found in the form *samupagata* or *samupagata* in the same context in many other charters,¹ especially in the elaborate indication in the grants of the Pālas and Sēnas of Eastern India.² We have seen above how the 'present' and 'future' subordinates, etc., of a ruler are described as *samupagata* with reference to a *vishaya* or district. The question now is what *upagata*, *samupagata* or *samupagata* in this context really means. In our opinion, it means the same thing as *sambādhyamānaka*, *gathā-kāla-bhāva* and *gathā-kāla-bhāva* as found in the same context in many records. This may be clear from the study of a few corresponding passages from the charters of the Gāhaḍavālas, Pālas and Sēnas.

The Gāhaḍavāla grant referred to above has: *upagatān-api cha rāja-rājā-yuvārāja-māntri-pūṣhita-pratihāra-sēnā-pati-bhāṇḍāgārīk-ākṣhapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-karita-vajrapattānāḥkaruṣkhanayakulādhikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati bādhyaty-ādīkati cha*. It is difficult to believe that all the said kinds of subordinates and officers of the king would have assembled in a gift land or village whenever he made a grant especially in view of the fact that the Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have often issued such charters. The number of these classes of people is much higher in the Pāla and Sēna charters. It has also to be noticed that often the subject of the gift was a plot or several plots of land including tanks, etc., and the assemblage of subordinate rulers, their queens and sons and of all the officers (*adīkha-rājapurushān*) therein becomes inconceivable. The list sometimes includes also, besides others, the mercenary soldiers of various nationalities such as Gauda, Mālava, Khassa, Kulika, Karpāta and Lāṭa and also people performing menial services such as Mēda, Andhra and Chāṇḍāla. An assemblage seems to be physically impossible in such cases. It should also be noted that different plots of the gift land sometimes lay in different districts.

Thus the Belawa plate of Mahipāla has: *grāma-pūṣhkarīnīśu sāmupagat-dīśhu-rājapurushān-rāja-rājanyaku-rājaputra-rājān-itya mahāśāsthanigrahika-mahāśhapatalika-mahāśśimanta-mahā-sēnā-pati-mahāyuti-hāra-dāyādhikarī-dharmika-mahādharmānāyaka-mahākumārāmātya-rājasthān-ō-parika-dāśhaparādika-chavāddharayika-dāyika-dāyāpāṭika-śaulika-gaṇika-kāṣṭhapāla-jāntapāla-kāṣṭhapāl-āngarakṣa-tadāyuktika-vimuktika-kartya-śrēṣṭh-trāṇabala-vyāpṛaka-kīrtanavāṇāyaka-kāṣṭhājāyikādhikāśa-dūta-prishayika-gaṇāgamik-ābhāvacamāka-vishayapati-grāmapati-tarika-gaṇika-Mālava-Khassa-Hāpa-Kulika-Karvāṭa-Lāṭa-chāṇḍa-bhāṭa-sēnā-ādīn-anyān-śi-śrīrītān-rāja-pād-ōparīnān prativīn Brāhmaṇ-śūdrān-mahattamānān-kuṭumbi-purāṇa-Mēda-Andhra-Chāṇḍāla-paryantān gathāhāra mānuyati bādhyati samādīkati cha.³*

18.—*Haṇyamana-Haṇjomana-Haṇjamāna-Paṇcharaṇṇa-Aṇjuvaṇṇa*

While editing the Chinchini (Thana District, Maharashtra) plates above,⁴ which contain the expression *haṇyamana-pura* or *haṇyamānīya-stūḍhya* in the list of people addressed in respect of the grants in question, we pointed out that the evidence of one of them, mentioning Saṇyāna and Haṇyamana in the same passage, clearly disproves the view that Haṇyamana is just another form of the place name Saṇyāna, modern Sanjān in the Thana District of Maharashtra.⁵ We thought that those who trace the origin of *haṇyamana*, sometimes also spell as *haṇjamana*, to Avestic *haṇjamana* and Persian *anuman* and understand the word

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, p. 280, text lines 11-17; p. 287, text line 10; p. 294, text line 13.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 31-41; pp. 11-12, text lines 29-38.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 7-8, text lines 21-41. In the Sēna charters, the list of subordinates and officers is concluded with the passage: *anyān-cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōparīnān-ādīyuktika-pūṣhita-sēnā-bhāṇḍāgārīk-cha* (p. 11, text lines 21-24). Cf. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 8, text lines 22-24.

⁴ Cf. Vol. XXXII, pp. 48, 53, 60, 74.

⁵ The identification was controverted by Fleet long ago on inadequate evidence even though he regarded Haṇyamana as a place name (ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 258-59).

in the sense of a colony or settlement of the Parsees may be right. Further consideration has, however, made us doubtful about the correctness of the suggestion.

The expression is found in some of the records of the ruling families of Kannada origin, which flourished in the Northern Konkan. Besides the epigraphs cited above, we may refer to the Bhandup, Thana and Kharepatan plates¹ containing the expression *hanyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* though the last named inscription has *hanjamana* in place of *hanyamana*. The difficulty is that, if it is the name of a place in the Northern Konkan but cannot be identified with Sanjān, we do not have any other geographical name with a similar sound in the area in question and cannot explain why this place name should be specially mentioned in a few records of the Kannadiga ruling families of the Northern Konkan. This would suggest that *hanyamana-hanjamana* may be a word of Kannada or South Indian origin, and, in that case, it would scarcely indicate a Parsee colony which is not known to have existed in the areas where the Dravidian languages are spoken.

A similar word is noticed in Kannada epigraphs discovered in places far away from the Northern Konkan. Thus an inscription² from Kaikini in the North Kanara District, Mysore, dated 1427 A.D., refers to Unmaramarakūla, the *mukhya* of the Hanjamānas of Honnāvura and to the molestation of the women of the said community at Kāsarakōṭṭu by *Mahāpradhāna* Timmana Oḍeya ruling from Honnāvura. Another inscription³ of 1465 A.D. from the Mahalingēśvara temple at Basrūr in the Coondapur Taluk of the South Kanara District, records that Paṇḍaridēva Oḍeya, the ruler of Bārakūra-nāya, made in favour of the local god Mahādēva a gift of the gold which the *hanjamāna* people of Basarūru (*Basarūr oḍayana hanjamānūl-avarū*) were paying. Since there is little possibility of the references here being to Parsee settlements in the North and South Kanara Districts, it is very probable that *hanyamana-hanjamana-hanjamāna* should be understood in the sense of Kannada *pañcha-varga* of the lexicons, the same as Tamil *aṅgu-vaṇṇam* (Sanskrit *pañcha-varga*) understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, brazier, carpenter and stone-mason, who are also known in Tamil as *Aṅgu-pañchāṣṭār*, *Pañchāṣṭār*, *Pañchāṣṭār* and *Pañcha-kamāṣṭār*.⁴

Thus, of the expressions quoted above from the inscriptions, *hanyamana-paura* or *hanjamana-paura* would mean 'the artisans and other citizens' while *hanyamāniya-mukhya* would indicate 'the elders of the artisan communities'. The expression *hanjamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* means 'the three classes, viz. *hanjamana*, *nagara* and *paura*'. Among these, *nagara* seems to mean 'the merchant community'. The word is used in the said sense in Kannada inscriptions, often in the forms *nakara* and *nakhara*;⁵ cf. also *nagaram* of Tamil inscriptions explained as 'a guild of merchants, a mercantile town'.⁶

¹ Ibid., p. 263; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 337; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33.

² R. S. Pancharaṁbhi, *Kannada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 110 ff. (No. 48). The length of the vowel in *and* in this record and a few others may be due to the modification of the following conjunct to a simple consonant, although lengthening has been avoided in the other forms.

³ *SI*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 470-71 (No. 499).

⁴ See T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, (Glossary, pp. vi and xliii).

⁵ *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 112; Part II, Nos. 158, 172, 175; R. S. Pancharaṁbhi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 39; Vol. II, p. 21.

⁶ T. N. Subramaniam, op. cit., p. xli. Cf. also *nagaramāṇḍalā*, *nagaramāṇḍalā*, *nagaramāṇḍalā* and *nagaramāṇḍalā*.

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[The figures refer to pages, a after a figure to foot-notes, and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au, =author; ca, =capital; ch, =chief; *Chitra*, =Chronicle; ci, =city; co, =country; com, =composer; de, =deity; di, =district or division; do, =ditto; dy, =dynasty; E, =Eastern; engr, =engraver; ep, =epithet; f, =family; fe, =female; *fund*, =fundatory; gen, =general; gr, =grant, grants; hist, =historical; ins, =inscription, inscriptions; k, =king; l, =locality; l.m., =linear measure, land measure; m, =male; min, =minister; mo, =mountain; myth, =mythological; n, =name; N, =Northern; off, =office, officer; pop, =people; pl, =plate, plates; pr, =prince, princess; prov, =province; q, =queen; rel, =religious; ri, =river; S, =Southern; s.a., =same as; sur, =surname; t, =temple; Tel, =Telugu; t.d., =territorial division; tit, =title; to, =town; tk, =tabak; vi, =village; W, =Western; wk, =work; wt, =weight.]

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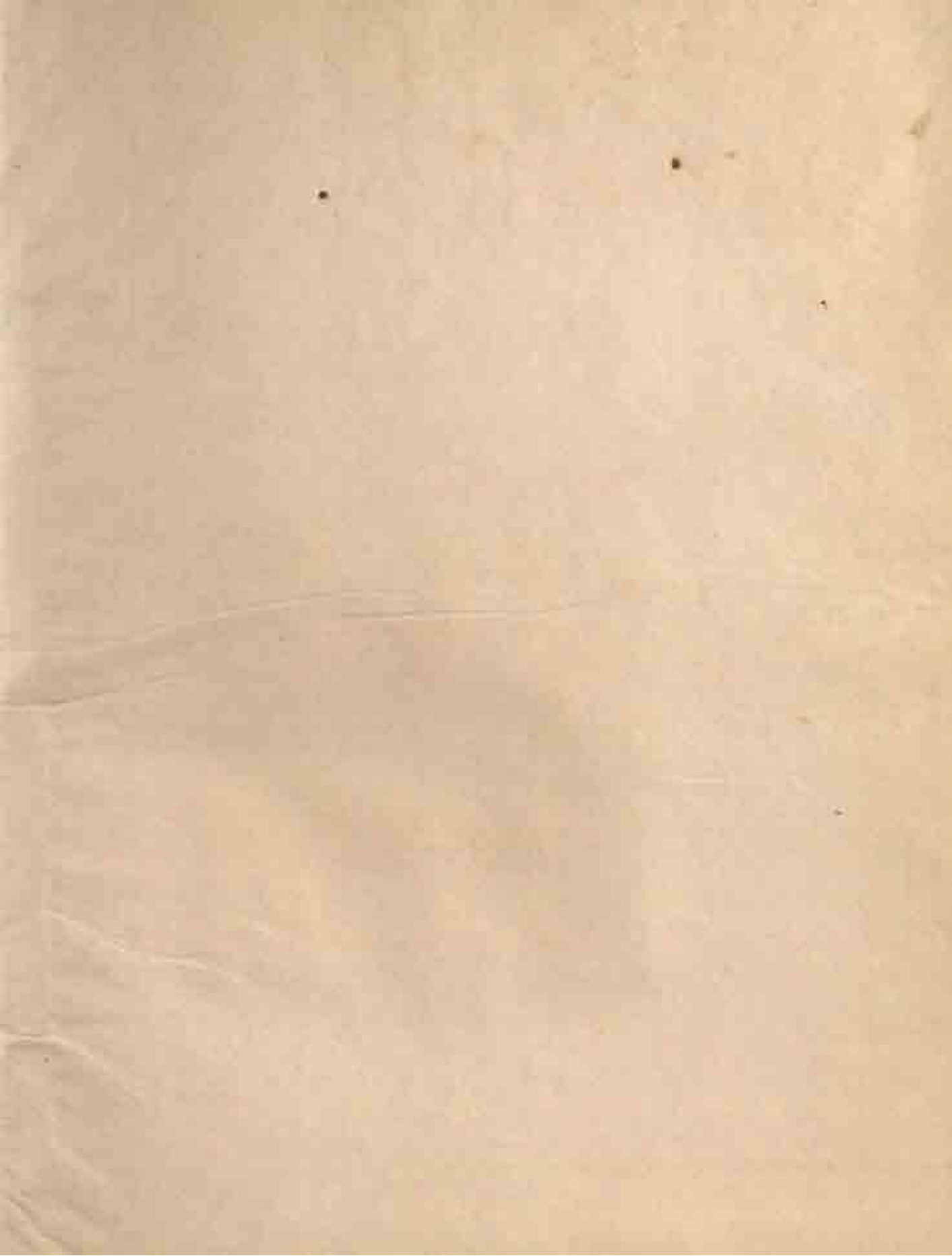
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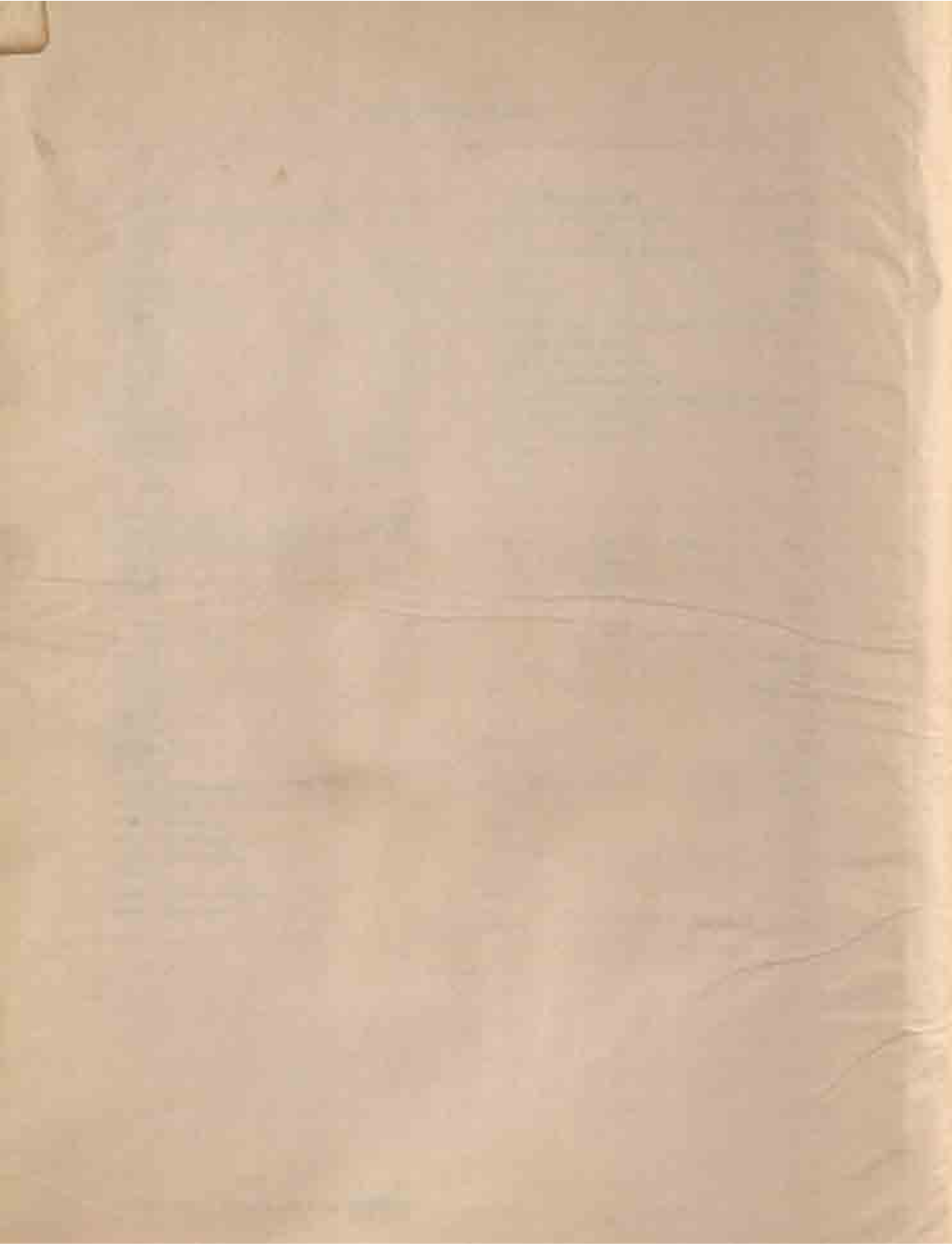
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